1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

With the dawn, more than ever gracious in its fulfillment of a nations' piety, the populace rallied, renovating their temples, refurbishing their houses and making new utensils for temple and household use. There was feasting on special food, and sacrifice both by personal bloodletting and the immolation of captives betokened the measure of popular gratitude.

Another striking ceremony fell on the day Four Earthquake (or Motion), the sign of the present age, and symbolized the passage of the sun through the heavens. At dawn a captive dressed as the Sun God, Tonatiuh, ascended the platform where the Calendar Stone was set. Four priests spread-eagled the victim, and a fifth opened his breast to tear out the heart as an offering to the god. The populace then feasted until noon, gashing their ears and parts of their bodies with blades of obsidian. In the afternoon the Eagle and Tiger Knights, votaries of the solar cult, took part in a dance dramatizing the sacred war wherein the sun is slain, to be reborn the following day. The dance culminated in a gladiatorial sacrifice. Selected Eagle and Tiger Knights, armed with real weapons, slew a captive warrior, chosen for his military distinction, who was tethered to a circular stone representing the sun's disk and who defended himself with dummy weapons only.[20] (See Plate 60, top right, bottom.)

A curious type of sacrifice took place in connection with the worship of the god Xipe and may be the origin of the arrow sacrifice which is performed in honor of the morning star by the Pawnee of our Western plains. In the Mexican rite the victim was lashed to a scaffold, and priests, using bows or *atl-atls*, shot him to death.[21]

The Aztecs performed a hideous ceremony in honor of the Fire God, Huehueteotl. Prisoners of war and their cap-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

growth in plants by the powers of sympathetic magic. Ceremonial cannibalism was sometimes practiced, in the belief that the eater can absorb the virtues of the eaten, but this rite cannot be considered a vice. The letting of one's own blood was another way to ensure divine favor, and people did horrible self-penances such as mutilating themselves with knives or drawing through their tongues a string on which were threaded maguey spines. The higher the social position of the individual and the more he consequently knew of ritualistic observance, the more arduously he performed the fasts, penances and tortures imposed by the religion. The priests, therefore, were strongly cognizant of their social responsibility and by the rigor of their own lives strove to ensure the well-being of the tribe.[17] (See Plate 61, bottom right.)

The picture writings of the Aztecs take human sacrifice and penance as a matter of course but seldom indicate the quantity of victims. Indeed, only one such manuscript records the monthly ceremonies, and a post-Conquest copy of another reveals a sacrifice of twenty thousand people at the dedication of the enlarged great temple of Mexico.[17] The Spanish accounts and those of the educated Indians agree, but whether Christian piety induced exaggeration, and how much, it is difficult to ascertain at this time and age. The Conquistador who counted thousands of skulls on the skull rack in Tenochtitlan apparently confirms these other statements, which the great humanitarian and Indian lover, Las Casas, discounted in his special pleading for decent treatment of the indigenous population of New Spain.[18]

The priesthood, beside performing these bloodcurdling acts, had other more pacific duties; they also instructed youth in the mysteries of writing and keeping records. Aztec writ-

776 who, stretching forth his arms to thee, embraceth thee and
783 carrieth thee upon his back.[42]
793 "Be daring; be not timid because of shame; be not backward."

[627] Then the penitent [swore an oath to tell the truth, by] touching earth, and cast incense upon the fire. Thereupon he seated himself before the soothsayer and spoke—for [the seer] was the representative, the deputy, the likeness [of the goddess]:

"Our lord, protector of all, because thou perceivest my evil odor, my vices, I take off my clothing and uncover, in thy presence, my nakedness—[that is,] the things I have taken, the things that I have done. Can these things be hidden and darkened, when they are reflected and clear in thy sight?"

Then he began [the tale of] his sins—whatsoever he had done; as if he were offering a song, proceeding thus, talking, doing it as if he were following a road. Much [in that way] he followed [the tale of] his sins. So he proceeded.

785 And when he ended his words, then had he told all his
776 sins.
783 Then answered the seer, the warden [of the god]; he
793 said unto him:

"Behold, thou hast spoken to the god; thou hast offered him thy deeds and thy misdeeds.

"And behold, this thou shalt do. When the Cinappilli descend, when the feast of the Cinappilli or the Incuimana is celebrated,[43] thou shalt fast four days. Thou shalt starve thy entrails; thou shalt parch thy lips.

"And when it is the day of the feast, at night thou shalt pierce thy tongue with straws and *magury* spines. With these thou shalt thus repent thy sins. These thou thus payest in blood.

"And thou shalt pass these straws, as many as thou wishest, whether straws or *magury* spines. And thou shalt pass these straws either through thy ears or through thy tongue.

"And thou shalt thus pass the straws through thy tongue; but take care lest thou do penance only to earn merit. Rather [thou shalt do it] to expiate thy sinful life; thou shalt offer blood for thy sins; [therefore] shalt thou break open thy tongue, inserting [the straw] from in front of thee.

"When thou drawest it through, thou shalt cast it down behind thee, either each one [alone] as thou takest it out, or else thou shalt gather them, binding them together, even four hundred [of them], even eight hundred of the straws, which thou shalt have passed through thy tongue.

"Thus shalt thou cleanse thyself of thy faults and thy sins."

in nomaqualtitica, y macochetica, in teputzetica;

ximotlapalo, ma timopinoquetz, ma titixiolo.

Nimá ôtlalqua in tlamacuhquj, onicopaltemá: njman ixpan motlalia in tlapouhquj: quíllhuja, injc tevioji, ynjc tepatiloti, ynjc tiniipela.

Tonecujoa, tloquehe, nanaquehe: ca ticmocujlia, ca ticmocaquijtia, in njiica in nopalanca: mjxpantzinco, njnopeperlaoa, njnonamaxauja: ca onez, ca onjcchiuh: cujx ichtaca, cujx tlaiooniaz, ca tezcac, ca tlavilpan in mjxpantzinco, yn onez.

Niman conpeoaltia: in jtlapilchioalit, vel iuja quenja cah, vel yuja quenja quichiuh: yn maca çan cujcatl, cenca çan jvin cenoca, cencan yvin conjtoa, yn juh quichiuh, in imaca çan veli, cencan quitocatiuh yn jtlachioal, yn juhuj cencan quitocatiuh.

Auh yn otlamjto yn jtlatol, yno muchi quito ytlachioal:

quinanquilia, yn tlapouhquj, yn jtzli, yn nacazdi muchioa, in teujujti, in tepatilloti: quillhuja.

O ca ticmononochilia, ca ticmonaquilia, in tloque nanaque, in motlachioal, in monequaviotc.

Auh ynjn, ca iuca yn taix, yn ticchioaz: yn jquac temoa, yn jquac temo cioapipilti, anoço yn jquac ynjllhujuh cioapipilti, yn jacujname: nauhlujti timoçaoaz, timocujtlaxcolçaoaz, timotenoatzaz.

Auh yn iquac vel jllhujti, in ie callaxnjh, in inahtica tiçacatlaçaz, titlacoquijztia: ynjn motlapilchioal, iuh tienamjctia y: auh ynjn iuh namjqua ea y:

auh jn quenjn ticnequix, iuh ticnequia: ynnla tiçacatlaçaz, ihoat! in teucalçacatl tiquijztia, anoço tlacotl. Auh aço monacaxco in titlaquijztia, anoço monenepilco.

Auh ynjc tiquijztia: ca amo ma çan titlamacoxo, ca teuhtli, tlaçulli in tictlaça, tictlacoçoa, ticonjtlacuepoaia, ỹ monenepil, mjxpampa ticnequix,

mozcintlan in tiaquijztia, in tictlaçaz: aço çan cecen in tiçquijztia, anoço çan ticcenquijztia, tictlatlaçalhuiz, yn aço centzontli, aço veintzontli, in ticquijztia tlacotl:

ic polinix, in motlatlacol, in motlapilchioal, in monequal.

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42. *Cf.* Note 36.

43. *See* Cap. X. The *Cinaimes* or *Cinappilles* were thought to be earth-goddesses who descended to earth in the form of eagles; they incited men to sin and crime.

And if the sins of the penitent were only light, [the priest] said unto him:

"Thou shalt parch thy lips, thou shalt fast, thou shalt starve thy entrails for four days."

Or else he said unto him:

"Thou shalt sing and dance [for the goddess]; thou shalt hang rubber-spotted papers [as offerings] and fashion images [for her]."

Or else, he said unto him:

"Thou hast done wrong, truly, with wine. Thou shalt satisfy the gods of wine, the Tzouchtin."

And he thus commanded him, and said unto him:

"When thou goest, when thou dost thy penance at night, thou shalt take nothing with thee. Thou shalt go naked. Thou shalt gird thy loins with paper painted with pointed figures,[68] spreading one piece behind thee [and one] at thy feet.

"And when thou shalt return, there before our lords, the gods, thou shalt cast off thy paper skirt."

And when he had done his penance, then he went to his house.

Thus in the end he changed to a good life. It was said that if he were to sin again—so it was said,—no longer might he gain mercy therefor.

It was said that they told only of great vanities, grave violence, adultery, [and only] the aged so spoke.

Thus the aged confessed—it was said—that they might not be punished here on earth for their sins; if they were adulterers, so that their heads might not be pierced, or beaten with stones, [therefore] they confessed.

The confessor, before whom were laid [one's] sins, nowhere spoke of what had been placed before him, of what had been said in secret.

For what was said in secret was not for him, but was given and told in secret to the god. And him mortal man might not see.

Thirteenth Chapter, which telleth of the little gods—the lesser [ones],[69] who were considered the very old gods.

Turquoise Lord (Xiuhtecutli)—the yellow-faced one, the holy flame. This one was known as fire, [as] the old god, [as] our father.

He was thought a god, considering that he burned one, he consumed one, he scorched the fields. And for many purposes he was useful; for [with fire, thus] one was warmed, things were cooked on a plate, things were cooked in a pot, pottery was fired, salt was burned, syrup was boiled, charcoal was burned, the lime was burned; things were fried,

Auh intla çan xicca, yn jtlapilchicoal, tlamacxubquj: 785
qujlhuja,
timotemoznaz, titlacatlaquaz, timocujtlaxcuiçoaz, 776
naujlhujtl: 783
anoço qujlhuja
titlatocia, timotetzuhcaoaz, tiqpiquiz: 793

anoço qujlhuja.

ca nel vetli, yn jpan otitlaneçomalti, tiqujnoqujxtiz in totzchtin.

Auh qujlhuja, ynjc quinaxcatia:

yn iquac tiaz, yn titlamaceuaz icaltica, atle motech vetziaz, tipetlaubtiaz: yn momaxac, amatl tlaitzcopecalli in mantiaz: centitl mjcampa, motzintlampa, mantiaz.

Auh yn jquac tioalmocuepaz, vmpa tocontlaçaz yn jmjxpan totecujocoan, yn teteu, yn mamacue.

Auh yn jquac otlamaceuh, njman oalauh yn jchan:

ic cenmajan, monemjlizcuepa: qujlmach intla oc cepa tlatlacoz, qujl ça aocmo tlaoculiloaj.

Qujlmach çan yio vey nequalli, vey nequaujtectli, in tetlaximalitzli: in qujtoaia veuetque.

Jnjc moiolmelaoaia veuetque: qujlmach, iehoatl, ynjc amo tzacujltiloque, njcan tlaticpac, yn jntlapilchioal: yntla otetlaxini ynjc amo quatetlaxililoz, ynjc amo quatepitzinjloz, ynjc amo quatetzotzonaloz, moiolmelaoa. [684]

Jn tlapouhqui, yn jixpan tlalilo, tlapilchioalli: çan njman acan qujtoa, in tlein ixpan tlalilo, in tlein ilhujlo:

ipampa ca amo ieh yn jlhujlo, in nonotzalo, ca tloque, ca naoque, in maco, in jlhujlo, in tlapilchioalli: ca amo ieh motta, in macoalli.

Jnic matlactli vmey, capitulo: ynnchça tlatoa, yn tepixtoton tetzuh: yn quintoqujlia, yn omotzcuhque, yn veuetzitin tetzuh. 776

Xiuhtecutli: izcoçauhquj, yoan cueçaltzin. Iehoatl motzcaiotia in tlel, anoço veue teutl yoan toca:

teutl ipan machoia: iehica, ca tetlatia, tepaloa, techichinoa, tlachinoa: yoan mjec tlamantli, ynjc tlacnelia: ca ic nococolo, ic tlapoxaxo, ic tlacuxitilo, ic tlaxco, ic ixtatlatilo, ic necutlatilo, ic tecullatilo, ic tzmexlatilo, ic tlatetzoioznjlo, yc tlatzoioznjlo, ic tlatleoztzalo, yc tetlecujlolo, ic temaxcallatilo, ic cuitlatilo, ic tlaxaxtlatilo.

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68. The most characteristic emblem of Tlaçolteotl is a brown wrapped with a *tlatzopiaxtli*—paper impressed with pointed figures (see *Codex Borbonicus*, month of Ochpaniztli). The paper loin cloth in the border of this same picture. Probably the *huipil* worn by the goddess in the illustration (Plate 12) is a good indication of the design of the loin cloth.

69. Corresponding Spanish text has "*que son menores en dignidad que los arriba dichos.*"

776

fire-serpent earplugs; he carried a cape of yellow paper. Likewise he had turtle and sea-shells. His shield had pieces of turquoise and mirror-stone. He carried the staff with the device for rowing.

Fourteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Five Flower (Macuilxochitl) and Flower Prince (Xochipilli).

Equally were they worshipped as gods of the palace folk.

When people fasted, if one of us men lay with a woman, or a woman with a man, it was said: "They brought to naught their fasting through sin."

Thereupon [the god] gave them, as merited punishment, hemorrhoids, venereal sickness, boils, and piles.[72]

Therefore they would make vows to him, in order to quiet, remove, or abate the sickness.

And when his feast, which was called the Feast of the Flowers, was celebrated, first all fasted four days. Some fasted thus: they ate no *chili*, [and ate only] after midday, only once [a day]. Some went at midnight, and drank a gruel called "painted *atolli*," on which small flowers floated. [This was] "the fast of the flowers."

All who ate good things ate them only at midday. And some ate only one thing—*tortillas* of corn not softened by lime,[73] without *chili*; [this] also [they did] at midday.

On the fifth day, which was when the feast was celebrated, a man became the likeness [of the god], arrayed in [his] clothing, in which he danced; they beat the drum and sang for him.

And at midday, quail were sacrificed. All drew blood, passing straws through the tongue; and they laid as offerings in his temple, five *tamales* which they had made for him. These were called [bread for] fasting, [and were] very large. On them stood the flowery arrow.

Some thus offered their offering upon wooden plates, and followed it with five more small *tamales* with a sauce, and others [offered] two cakes made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize—one black, one red,—[instead of offerings of] rubber laid in wooden bowls.

And some [brought] toasted corn, or toasted corn mixed in honey; or S-shaped corn-cakes which were like notched straws or lightning-bolts; [or] butterfly-*tortillas*, *tortillas* of ground corn which had not been softened in lime; cakes made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize, and shaped like shields, arrows, swords, and darts.

And here, to Mexico, from everywhere, were brought captives, called "tribute-captives," [from] all warlike [places]

Jnic matlactli vnnavi capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in teutl, yn itoca: macuilxochitl, yoan xochipilli.

Çan nemeuhque, ynjc netetutiloia tecpantzinca intech: 776
yn jquac neçaujliloia, intla aca toquichti ipan cioacochiz, 688
anoço ciouatl, ipan oquichcochiz: mjtnaia, quindaçulnjctia 753
yn jnoçaoalitz, [785]
ic quitemacaia, tetech qujclalaiza, qujtellhujltiaia, qujtema- [834]
ceualtiaia, in xochiciuitrtli, yn menexoalistli, tlapalanaltilirtli,
quexiliuilirtli,
yuicpa netolea, nemeualtiloia, ynjc qujcetuia, ynjc
qujquauia ynjc qujcaxaoaz, cuculirtli.

Auh yn jquac ilhujqujxtililoia, ipan xochilhujtl: achtopa 776
navilhujtl nexochiçoalo: in cequjntin ic moçaoaia, chil- 796
caoaia, quinnepantla tonatiuh, in tlaquaia, centlaquaia.
ioalnepantla quimattiuh, tlacujlolatulli in qujia, xochitontli [264]
yn ipan ca, monochiçaoa:

muchi qujqua in velic, çan no nepantla tonatiuh
quimattiuh. Auh yn aca çan qujcaviaia, in iotlaxcalli
qujquaia, atle chilli: no nepantla tonatiuh quimattiuh:
yc tlamacujlti yn jlhujqujxtililoia, iquac ce tlacatl
quimixipeltiaia, conmaqujaia yn jtlatquj, ipan mjtotiaia,
qujtlatzotzonjliaia, qujcujcaciaia:

yoan in ie nepantla tonatiuh, tlacotonaloia, neçuoaia, 776
tlatoqujxtiloia: yoã tlamanjliloia yn jtsupan, macujltetl in [785]
quichinjliaia, tamalli: mjnaia tlacatlaqualli, cnoca vevey
ipan ycatiuh xuchmjtl:

yn aca quauhcaxitl ynjc conmanjliaia, yoan contoquiliaia 776
oc no macuiltetl tamalitepitzoua, molotiuja: yoan vntetl [785]
tnualli yiol peujia, no cecnj quauhcaxtica, mantivia, centetl 262
diltic, centetl tlatlauhqui. 796

Auh yn aca izquitl, anoço necuzquitl, anoço xuxecujlli,
papaloctaxcalli, iotlaxcalli, tzoallaxcalli, tzoalchimalli,
tzoalmjtl, tzoalmaquauitl, tzoalmeuetl:

yoan nouiian oalcaoaloia, in mamalti njcan mexico, 776
motnenca maltequjtne, yn jxquich techiaoalotoc, yn 796

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cuu quauhcuallocuitl—one arrow shafts or wooden shafts, projecting forward above the frontal band on the side of the temples and exhibiting *the cuu cuel* ("2 reed") or the *macuilcuauitl* (five-shaft) (see illus.). Sahagún: *The Treasures of the Aztec Collection*, p. 75. *Tlauiztequac*, in the Aztec text, should probably be *tlauiztequac*.

72. Corresponding Spanish text reads: *"bubas, con enfermedades, de las partes secretas, . . . almorranas, postrimolas del miembro secreto, diviesos, incordios, etc."*

73. In corresponding Spanish text: *"pane ázimo."*

The third month they called Toçoztontli. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to the god named Tlaloc, who is the god of rain. On this feast they slew many children upon the mountains. They offered them as sacrifices to this god and to his companions, so that they would give them water.

Al tercero mes, llamavan toçoztontli: en el primer dia deste mes, hazian fiesta al dios llamado Tlaloc: que es dios de las pluujas. En esta fiesta, matauã muchos njños, sobre los montes: ofrecianlos en sacrificio a este dios, y a sus compañeros, para que los diessen agua.

796 [805 776]

Chapter 3
Toçoztontli

On this feast they offered the first fruits of the flowers which had bloomed earliest that year, on the pyramid named Yopico. And before they had offered them, none dared smell a flower.

Those in charge of the flowers, who are called *xochimanque*, celebrated a feast to their goddess, named Coatl icue, or by another name Coatlan tonan.

Likewise in this month, those who had worn the skins of the dead [sacrificial victims] whom they had flayed the previous month, took [them] off. They went to cast them into a cave in the pyramid which they called Yopico; they went in procession to do this, and [performed] many ceremonies. They went stinking like dead dogs. And after they had left them [in the cave], they washed themselves, [performing] many ceremonies. A number of the sick made vows to attend this procession, in order to recover from their sickness, and they say that some [of them] recovered.

The masters of the [sacrificed and flayed] captives, with all those of their households, did penance for twenty days: neither did they bathe nor wash their heads until the skins of the dead captives were deposited in the cave mentioned above. They said that they did penance for their captives.

After they had ended the penance, they bathed and washed themselves, and summoned all their kin and friends, and gave them food. And they performed many ceremonies with the bones of the dead captives.

1. Marginal notation: *Apollo Arbor dies sua.*

Cap. 3.
Toçoztontli.

En esta fiesta: ofrecian las prjmicias de las flores, que aquel año primero nacian en el cu, llamado iopico: y antes que las ofreciessen, nadie ossaua oler flor.

Los officiales de las flores, que se llaman xochimanque: hazian fiesta, a su diosa llamada Coatl ycue, y por otro nombre coatlã tona.

Tambien en este mes: se desnudauan, los q̃ trayan vestidos, los pellejos de los muertos, q̃ aujan desollado el mes pasado: yuanlos a echar en vna cueua, en el cu, que llamauan iopico: yuan a hazer esto, con procesion: y cõ muchas cerimonjas, yuan hediendo, como perros muertos: y despues que los aujan dexado: se lauauan, con muchas cerjmonjas: Algunos emfermos hazian voto, de hallarse presentes, a esta procesion, por sanar de sus emfermedades: y dizen, que algunos sanauan.

824 346

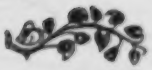
Los dueños de los cativos, con todos los de su casa, hazian penjtencia, veynte dias: que nj se bañauan, nj se lauauan las cabeças: hasta que se ponjan los pellejos, de los captiuos muertos, en la cueua arriba dicha: desian que hazian penjtencia, por sus captiuos.

796 785 783

Despues que aujan acabado la penjtencia: bañauanse, y lauauanse, y conbidauan a todos, sus parientes, y amigos, y dauanles comjda: y hazian muchas cerjmonjas, con los huesos, de los catiuos muertos.

755

2. Marginal notation: *Mirior epjphanes.*



The fourth month they called Uei toçoztli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast in honor of the god named Cinteotl, whom they regarded as god of maize. In his honor they fasted four days before the arrival of the feast.

Al quarto mes llamauan, Vey toçoztli: en el primero dia deste mes: hazia fiesta a honrra del dios llamado Cinteutl, que le tenjan por dios de los mahizes: a honrra deste, ayunauan quatro dias, ante de llegar la fiesta.

[796] [805] [776] [785]

Chapter 4
Uei toçoztli

In this feast they placed reeds at the doors of the houses. They sprinkled them with the blood from their ears or from the calves of their legs. Besides these, the nobles and the rich set up in their houses some branches which they called *acxoyatl*. Likewise, they set up branches for their gods, and set forth flowers for [the gods] which each one had in his house.

After this, they went about the maize fields and brought stalks of the maize (which was still small), and they garnished them with flowers and went to place them before their gods, in the house called *calpulli;* and also they set food before them.

Having done this in the various suburbs, they went to the pyramid of the goddess whom they called Chicome coatl, and there, before her, they enacted skirmishes in the manner of battles. And all the girls bore upon their backs ears of maize [grown] the year before. They went in procession, to present them to the goddess Chicome coatl, and they returned them once more to their house[s] as blessed thing[s]; and from them they took the seed to plant next year. And also they put it [away] as the heart of the grain bins, because it was blessed.

They made of dough (which they call *tzoalli*) the image of this goddess in the courtyard of her pyramid; and before her they offered all kinds of maize, and all kinds of beans, and all kinds of *chía*. For they said that she was the maker and giver of all those things which are the necessaries of life, that the people may live.

1. Marginal notation: *Sanctorum summi ac Dei genetrix.*

Cap. 4.
Vey toçoztli

1 b KL. *b 3*
2 c En esta fiesta, ponjan espadañas a *c 4*
3 d las puertas de las casas ensangrenta- *d 5*
4 e uanlas, con sangre de las orejas, o de *e 6*
5 f las espinjllas: los nobles y los ricos, *f 7*
6 g de mas de las espadañas, enrramauan *g 8*
7 A sus casas, con vnos ramos, que llaman *A 9*
8 b acxoatl. Tambien enrramauan a sus *b 10*
9 c dioses, y las ponjan flores a los que cada *c 11*
10 d vno tenja en su casa. *d 12*
11 e Despues desto, yuan por los ma- *e 13*
12 f hizales, y trayan cañas de mahiz (que *f 14*
13 g aun estaua pequeño) y componjanlas *g 15*
14 A con flores y yuanlas a poner delante de *A 16*
15 b sus dioses, a la casa que llamauan *b 17*
16 c calpulli: y tambien ponjan comjda *c 18*
17 d delante dellos. *d 19*
18 e Despues de echo esto, en los barrios: *e 20*
19 f yuan al cu, de la diosa, que llamauan *f 21*
20 g chicome coatl: y alli delante della *g 22*[1]
hazian escaramuças a manera de pelea: y todas las muchachas lleuauan a cuestas, maçorcas de mahiz del año passado: yuan en procesion, a presẽtarlas, a las diosa chicome coatl: y tornauanlas otra vez a su casa como cosa bendita, y de alli tomauan la semjlla, para sembrar el año venjdero: y tambien ponjanlo por coraçon, de las trojes, por estar bendito.

[785] [776] [241]

Hazian de masa (que llaman tzoalli) la ymagen desta diosa, en el patio de su cu, y delante della: ofrecian todo genero de mahiz, y todo genero de frisoles, y todo genero de chien: porque dezian, que ella era la sustora, y dadora de aquellas cosas, que son mantenjmjentos, para biujr la gente.

[778]

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

The sixth month they called Etzalqualiztli. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to the rain gods. In honor of these gods, the priests of these gods fasted before their feast came for four days, which are the four last days of the previous month.

Al sexto mes llamauan Etzalqualiztli: en el primero dia deste mes: hazian fiesta a los dioses de la pluuja: a honrra destos dioses, ayunauã los sacerdotes destos dioses: quatro dias antes de llegar a su fiesta, que son los quatro postreros dias del mes pasado.

Chapter 6
Etzalqualiztli

In order to celebrate this feast, the priests and servants of the idols went to Citlaltepec for reeds; for they grew very large and handsome in the waters called Temiloc. From there they brought them to Mexico to adorn the pyramids. On the road which they took, no one appeared; all wayfarers hid themselves, for fear of them. And if they came upon one, they took from him whatever he had, even leaving him naked. And if he resisted, they belabored him such that they left him for dead. And even if he bore tribute for Moctezuma, they took it from him. And for this they visited upon them no punishment; because, since they were servants of the idols, they had license to do these things, and others [even] worse, with no punishment. Many other ceremonies the priests of the temple performed in these four days, which are put forth at length in the account of the feast.

On the arrival of the feast of Etzalqualiztli, everyone made a kind of gruel or porridge which is called *etzalli* (a delicious food, which they liked well). All ate in their houses, and gave [of it] to those who came, and did a thousand follies on this day.

On this same feast, they punished terribly servants of the idols guilty of committing some fault in their service; [they mishandled] them in the water of the lagoon to such a point that they left them for dead. And thus they left them there at the edge of the water. From there their parents or relatives took them and carried them to their houses, half dead.

On this same feast they slew many captives and

1. Marginal notation: *Iunjos de dios mes.*

Cap. 6:
Etzalqualiztli.

Para la celebracion desta fiesta: los satrapas de los ydolos y sus mjnjstros. yuã por juncas a Citlaltepec: que se hazẽ muy grãdes y muy hermosas en vn agua que se llama temjlco, de alli las trayan a Mexico: para adornar los cues, por el camjno donde venjã, nadie parecia: todos los camjnãtes se abscondian de mjedo dellos, y si con alguno encõtrauã: tomauãle quãto traya hasta dexalle en pelo, y si se defendia: maltratauãle de tal manera q̃ le dexauã por muerto: y aunque lleuasse el tributo para Motecuçoma se le tomauan: y por esto njnguna pena las dauã: porque por ser mjnjstros de los ydolos, tenjã libertad para hazer estas cosas, y otras peores sin pena njnguna. Otras muchas cerimonjas hazian los satrapas del templo en estos quatro dias que estan a la larga puestas en la historia desta fiesta.

Allegada la fiesta de Etzalqualiztli: todos haziã vna manera de puchas o poleadas que se llama Etzalli (comjda delicada a su gusto) todos comjan en su casa, y dauan a los que venjan, y hazian mjll locuras en este dia.

En esta mesma fiesta, a los mjnjstros de los ydolos que avian hecho algun defecto en el serujcio dellos: castigauanlos terriblemẽte en el agua de la laguna tãto que los dexauã por muertos: y assi los dexauã alli a la orilla del agua: de alli los tomauã sus padres o parientes, y los lleuauã a sus casas medio muertos.

En este mjsmo mes matauã muchos catiuos y otros

The fourteenth month they named Quecholli. They observed a feast to the god name Mixcoatl. And in this month they made arrows and darts for war. They slew many slaves in honor of this god.

Chapter 14
Quecholli

When they made the arrows, for a space of five days all took blood from the ears, and [with] the blood which they pressed out of them they anointed their own temples. They said that they did penances in order to go to hunt deer. From those who did not bleed themselves, they took their capes as punishment. No man lay with his wife on those days; neither did the old men nor the old women drink wine; because they did penance.

At the end of the four days during which they made the arrows and darts, they made a number of very small arrows, and bound them in four's with each [bundle of] four torches. And, a small bundle of the four torches and the four arrows being made, they offered them upon the graves of the dead. They placed also, along with the arrows and torches, two *tamales*. All this remained for a whole day upon the grave, and at night they burned it and performed many other ceremonies for the dead on this same feast.

On the tenth day of this month, all the Mexicans and Tlatelulcans went to those mountains which they call Çacatepec. And they say that this mountain is their mother. On the day that they arrived, they made huts or cabins of grass, and they lit fires, and nothing else did they do that day.

Next day, at dawn, all forthwith broke fast and set out for the country and formed a great wing, wherewith they surrounded many animals—deer, rabbit, and other animals—and little by little they kept coming together until they rounded up all of them. Then they attacked and hunted, each one what he could.

1. Marginal notation: *Primeramente ha dar sus.*

Al quarto decimo mes llamauan Quecholli: hazian fiesta al dios llamado Miscoatl: y en este mes hazian saetas y dardos para la guerra: matauã a honrra deste dios muchos esclauos.

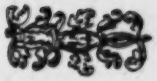
Cap. 14
Quecholli.

Quando hazian las saetas por espacio de cinco dias: todos se sangrauan de las orejas y la sangre que esprimjan della: vntauanla por sus mesmas sienes. Dezian que hazian penjtencias para yr a caçar venados: los que no se sangrauan, tomauanles las mantas en pena: njngun hombre se echaua con su muger en estos dias, nj los viejos ni viejas beujan pulcre: porque hazian penjtencia.

Acabados los quatro dias en que hazian las saetas y dardos: haziã vnas saetas chiquitas y atauanlas de quatro en quatro con cada quatro teas: y assi hecho vn manogico de las quatro teas, y de las quatro saetas, ofrecianlas sobre los sepulchros de los muertos: ponjan tambien juntamente con las saetas y teas dos tamales: estaua todo esto vn dia entero sobre la sepultura, y a la noche lo quemauan: y hazian otras muchas cerimonjas por los defũtos en esta mesma fiesta.

A los diez dias deste mes yvan todos los Mexicanos y Tlatelulcanos a aquellos montes que llaman Çacatepec: y dizen que es su madre aquel monte, el dia que llegauan hazian xacales o cabañas de heno, y hazian fuegos y njnguna otra cosa hazian aquel dia.

Otro dia en amaneciendo luego almorçauan todos, y salian al campo y hazian vna ala grande: donde cercauan muchos anjmales, cieruos, conejos, y otros anjmales y poco a poco se yvan juntando hasta acorrallos todos: entonce arremetian y caçauan cada a qual lo que podia.



The fifteenth month they named Panquetzaliztli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the god of war, Uitzilopochtli. Before this feast, the priests of the idols fasted for forty days and performed other severe penances, like going naked at midnight to carry branches to the mountains. Etc.

Chapter 15
Panquetzaliztli

On the second day of this month all began to perform a dance and to sing the canticles of Uitzilopochtli in the the courtyard of his pyramid. Men and women danced, all together. They began these canticles in the afternoon, and they ended at nearly ten o'clock. These dances and songs lasted twenty days.

On the ninth day of this month, they adorned, with great ceremonies, those whom they were to slay. They painted them in various colors; they decked them in many papers. Finally they performed a dance with them, in which went a woman paired with a man, singing and dancing.

On the sixteenth day of this month, the owners of the slaves began a fast; and on the nineteenth day, they began to perform a number of dances in which all, men and women, went grasping hands, and they danced winding back and forth in the courtyard of the aforementioned pyramid. A number of old men sang, and played [instruments] while the others danced.

After those who were to die had performed many ceremonies, there came down from the pyramid of Uitzilopochtli one attired in the ornaments of the god Paynal, and he slew four of those slaves in the ball court which was found in the courtyard which they called Teotlachtli. From there he departed and circled all the city, running; and in certain places he slew, in each one, a slave. And from that point [onward], two factions began a mock battle. Some died in the skirmishing.

1. Marginal notation: *Duffaults Redlier adjust.*

"Al quinzeno mes llamauan Panquetzaliztli: En este mes haziã fiesta al dios de la guerra Vitzilobuchtli: antes desta fiesta los satrapas de los ydolos ayunauan quarenta dias y hazian otras penitencias asperas como era yr a la media noche desnudos a lleuar ramos a los montes. Etc.

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805
776
785

Cap. 15.
Panquetzaliztli.

1	e	KL.		e	9¹
2	f	El segundo dia deste mes començauã		f	10
3	g	todos a hazer areyto, y a cantar los can-		g	11
4	A	tares de Vitzilobuchtli, en el patio de		A	12
5	b	su cu, baylauan hombres y mugeres to-		b	13
6	c	dos juntos: comẽçauan estos cantares		c	14
7	d	a la tarde, y acabauan cerca de las diez:		d	15
8	e	durauan estos bayles y cantos veinte		e	16
9	f	dias.		f	17
10	g	A los nueue dias deste mes: apare-		g	18
11	A	jauã cõ grandes cerimonjas a los que		A	19
12	b	aujan de matar pintauanlos de diuersas		b	20
13	c	colores, componjãlos con muchos pa-		c	21
14	d	peles: al fin hazian vn areyte con ellos,		d	22
15	e	en el qual vyan vna muger y vn hom-		e	23
16	f	bre pareados cantando y bayläo.		f	24
17	g	A los deziseys dias deste mes: co-		g	25
18	A	mençauã a ayunar los dueños de los		A	26
19	b	esclauos y a los dezinueue dias, comen-		b	27
20	c	çauan a hazer vnas danças en que yvan		c	28

todos asidos de las manos hombres y mugeres, y dançauan culebreãdo en el patio del dicho cu, cantauã y tañjan vnos viejos entre tanto que los otros dancauan.

Despues de auer hecho muchas cerimonjas los que avian de morir decendian del cu de Vitzilobuchtli, vno vestido con los ornamẽtos del dios Paynal, y mataua quatro de aquellos esclauos en el juego de pelota que estaua en el patio que llamauã teutlachtli: de alli yva y cercaua toda la ciudad corriendo, y en ciertas partes mataua en cada vno vn esclauo: y de alli començauan a escaramuçar dos partialidades, murian algunos en la escaramuça.

796 X
535
302
796 X
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346
726

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

The five remaining days of the year, which are the four last of January and the first of February, they named Nemontemi, which meaneth barren days. And they regarded them as unlucky and of evil fortune. There is conjecture that when they pierced the boys' and girls' ears, which was every four years, they set aside six days of Nemontemi, and it is the same as the bissextile which we observe every four years.

A los cinco dias restantes del año que son los quatro vltimos de Enero y el primero de hebrero llamauan Nemontemi, que quiere dezir dias valdios: y tenjanlos por aziagos y de mala fortuna: ay conjectura que quando agujerauan las orejas a los njños y njñas que era de quatro en quatro años, echauan seys dias de Nenontemj y es lo mjsmo del bisexto que nosotros hazemos de quatro en quatro años.

796 777 [805] [304]

Chapter 19

These five days they held as of evil fortune and unlucky. They said that those who were born in them had evil outcomes in all their affairs, and were poor and wretched. They named them Nemo. If they were men, they named them Nemoquich; if it was a woman, they named her Nenciuatl. They dared do nothing in these days, because they were unlucky. Especially did they abstain from quarreling, because they said that those who quarreled in these days always remained with that custom. They held as a bad omen stumbling in these days.

These aforementioned feasts were fixed, and were always observed within the month, or a day or two ahead. Other feasts they had [which were] movable, which were celebrated during the course of the twenty signs, which made a round in two hundred and sixty days. And hence these movable feasts, in a year, fell one in one month, and another in another, and always varied.

Of the Movable Feasts

The first movable feast was celebrated in honor of the sun, in the sign which is named ce ocelotl, in the fourth house, which is named naui ollin. On this feast they offered, to the image of the sun, quail, and they offered incense. And at noon they slew captives before it in honor of the sun. On this same day, all drew blood from their ears—children and those who were grown—in honor of the sun, and they offered it that blood.

The Second Movable Feast

In this same sign, in the seventh house, all the painters and the seamstresses celebrated a feast. They

◦Capi. 19.

1 A Estos cinco dias tenjan por malafor- *A 28*
2 b tunados y aziagos: dezian que los que *b 29*
3 c en ellos nacian tenjan malos successos *c 30*
4 d en todas sus cosas, y eran pobres y mj- *d 31*
seros llamauanlos Nemo, si eran hombres llamauanlos Nenoqujch, y si era muger llamauala Nencioatl, no osauan hazer nada en estos dias por ser malafortunados: especialmente se abstenjan de reñjr: porque dezian que los que reñjan en estos dias se quedauã siempre con aquella costumbre tenjan por mal aguero tropeçar en estos dias.

[551] [578] [787]

Estas fiestas dichas eran fixas que siempre se haziã dentro del mes o vn dia o dos adelante: Otras fiestas tenjan moujbles que se hazian por el curso de los veinte signos: los quales hazian vn circulo en dozientos y sesenta dias: y por tanto estas fiestas moujbles vn año cayan en vn mes y otro en otro y siempre variauan.

De las fiestas moujbles.

La primera fiesta moujble se celebraua a honrra del sol en el signo que se llama ce ocelutl, en la quarta casa que se llama naolin: en esta fiesta ofrecian a la ymagen del sol codornjzes y incensauan: y en el medio matauã capitnos delante della a honrra del sol. En este mesmo dia se sangrauan todos de las orejas chicos y grãdes a hõrra del sol y le ofrecian aquella sangre.

796 [776] [785]

La segunda fiesta moujble.

En este mjsmo signo en la septima casa haziã fiesta todos los pintores, y las labrãderas ayunauã quarẽta

785 796 463

785 fasted, [some] for forty days, others for twenty, in order to prevail over chance, in order to paint well
X 796 and to weave textiles well. For this purpose they
463 offered quail and incense, and performed other ceremonies—the men to the god Chicome xochitl, and the women to the goddess Xochiquetzal.

dias, otros veinte por alcançar ventura para pintar bien y para tener bien labores, offrecian a este proposito codornices y encienso, y haziã otras cerimonjas los hombres al dios Chicome xochitl y las mugeres a la diosa Sochiquetzal.

The Third Movable Feast

X 796 In the third sign, which is called ce maçatl, in the
[776] first house, they celebrated a feast to the goddesses who are named Cinapipilti, because they said that
[289] then they came down to the earth. They adorned their images with papers and offered them offerings.

La tercera fiesta mouible.

En el tercero signo que se llama ce maçatl: en la primera casa hazian fiesta a las diosas que se llaman cioapipilti porque dezian que entonce decendian a la tierra, ataujauã a sus ymagines con papeles, y ofrecianlas ofrendas.

The Fourth Movable Feast

X 796 In the sign which is called ce maçatl, in the second
273 house, which is called ome tochtli, they celebrated a
[776] great feast to the god named Izquitecatl, who is the second god of wine: and not alone to him but to all the gods of wine, who were many. On this day they adorned his image very well on his pyramid, and offered him things to eat, and they sang and played [musical instruments] before him. And in the courtyard of his pyramid they set a large open jar of wine,
[463] and those who were wine merchants filled it to overflowing, and all who wished went to drink. They had
[415] some canes through which they drank. The wine sellers kept feeding the large jar, so that it was always full. Mostly, those who had newly cut the maguey did this. The first syrup which they took out they took to the house of this god as first fruits.

La quarta fiesta mouible

En el signo que se llama ce maçatl: en la segunda casa que se llama vme tochtli: hazian gran fiesta al dios llamado Yzquitecatl, que es el segundo dios del vino, y no solamente a el: pero a todos los dioses del vino que eran muchos: adereçavan este dia muy bien su ymagen en su cu, y ofrecianle cosas de comjda, y cantauan, y tañjan delante del: y en el patio de su cu, ponjan vn tinajon de pulcre, y hinchianle los que eran taberneros hasta reberter, y yuan a beuer todos los que querian: tenjan vnas cañas con que beujã: los taberneros yuan cetando el tinajon: de manera que siempre estaua lleno: principalmente hazian esto los q̃ de nueuo aujan cortado el maguey, la primera agua mjel que sacauan la lleuauan a la casa deste dios como primjcias.

The Fifth Movable Feast

X 796 In the sign called ce xochitl, in the first house, they celebrated a great feast. The leading men and the lords danced and sang in honor of this sign, and they
[301] otherwise made merry. And then they brought forth the richest feathers, with which they adorned themselves for the dance. In this feast the lord gave gifts
[431] to the warriors and to the singers and to the palace folk.

La quinta fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce xochitl: en la primera casa, hazian gran fiesta, los principales, y señores, baylauan, y cantauan a honrra deste signo, y hazian otros regozijos: y sacauan entonce los mas ricos plumajes, con que se adereçauan para el areyto: y en esta fiesta, el señor hazia mercedes a los hombres de guerra, y a los cantores y a los del palacio.

The Sixth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce acatl, in the first house, the lords and the leading men celebrated a great festival
[34] to Quetzalcoatl, god of the winds. This feast they observed in the house called *calmecac*, which was the house where dwelt the priests of the idols, and where were trained the boys. In this house, which was like

La sexta fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce acatl: en la primera casa, hazian gran fiesta a quetzalcoatl dios de los vientos: los señores y principales: esta fiesta hazian en la casa llamada calmecac, que era la casa donde morauan los satrapas de los ydolos: y donde se criauan los muchachos, en esta casa que era como vn mones-

Then the mother of the young man

placed a very fine shift upon her daughter-in-law, and put for her, by her feet, a richly embroidered skirt. And the mother of the young woman covered her son-in-law with a very fine cape, and tied it over his shoulder, and laid a very richly embroidered breech clout at his feet. This done, a number of old women, who are called *tiici*, tied the corner of the young man's cape to the lower part of the young woman's shift. In this way was concluded the marriage, with many other ceremonies, and dinings, and drinking, and dances, which were given thereafter, as is contained in the account of the marriages.

matrimonjo, con otras muchas cerimonjas, y comeres, y beueres, y bayles, que despues se hazian, como se contiene, en la historia del matrimonjo. 585 302 292

They observed two other feasts which in part were fixed and in part were movable. They were movable because they were celebrated in interpolated years. One was observed every four years, and the other every eight years. They were fixed because they had year, month, and day assigned. In the one which was celebrated every four years, they pierced the ears of the boys and the girls, and they performed for them ceremonies for good growth, and they purified them over the fire. In the one which they celebrated every eight years, they fasted before it for eight days on bread and water, and enacted a dance in which they assumed the forms or characters of various birds and animals. And they said that they sought good fortune, as is set forth in the appendix of the Second Book.

Otras dos fiestas tenjan, que en parte eran fixas, y en parte eran moujbles: eran moujbles, porque se hazian por años interpolados. La vna se hazia, de quatro en quatro años, y la otra de ocho en ocho años: eran fixas porque tenjan año, mes, y dia señalados. En la que se hazia, de quatro en quatro años, horadauan las orejas a los njños o njñas: y hazianlos, las cerimonjas, de crezca para bien, y lustrauanlos por el fuego. En la que hazian, de ocho en ocho años: ayunauan antes della, ocho dias a pan y agua, y hazian vn areyto, en que tomauan figuras, o personajes, de diuersas aues y anjmales: y dezian que buscauan ventura, como esta escrito, en el apendiz del segundo libro. 796 [304 854] [535 785]

These movable feasts, in some years, displace the feasts of the calendar, as also happeneth in our calendar.

Estas fiestas mouibles en algunos años echan de su lugar a las fiestas del kalendario: como tambien acontece, en nuestro kalendario.

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Astec NU7

Twenty-third Chapter, which telleth of the feast and of the honors which they performed on the feast day in the fourth month, which was known as Uei toçoztli.[1]

This [feast of] Uei toçoztli was thus carried out: to begin with, for four days there was fasting in the houses. [There] the young men set up the cattails,[2] covered and sprinkled with blood, everywhere [in the houses].

They arranged them all in the houses, and offered, erected, and set up, the cattails before their gods; they cut, severed, and reaped [the grass] near the [white] ends. These [ends] they anointed with blood.

And anyone [who was a] young man drew blood, quite of his own will, from his leg or from his ears.

And where there were riches, where there was prosperity—in the houses of the lords, the leaders, the chiefs, the merchants, [the youths] laid out [a bed of] fir branches[3] for the cattails, and balls of grass whose outer edges were woven into a fringe.

In the middle of these they placed *maguey*[3a] thorns; these they set on them, also anointed and sprinkled with blood, at eventide, when a little sun [still shone], when the sun had not yet entered his house. Then they made their offerings.

And at night, the women made [a gruel of ground maize called] *atolli*—either a thick, white *atolli*[4] or an *atolli* made of a dough of maize softened with lime, or a fruit *atolli*.[5] This *atolli* was known as *aquetzalli*.

Then they swept their tribal temple. And when they had swept, then they poured the *atolli* into the *atolli* vessels.

It spread out shining; it spilled over, sending off heat; its vapor diffused. And when it had cooled,

Jnic cẽpoualli omei capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in ilhujtl: yoan in tlamauiztililiztli, in qujchioaia, yn jpan ic cemilhujtl, yc nauj metztli: in mitoaia vey toçoztli.

Inin vey toçoztli, ynic muchioaia, oc achtopa naujlhujtl neçaoalo, in techachan: quixquequetza telpopochti tolpactli, tlachezujlli, heeaço, tlaezçotilli noujã:

quicentzacutimanca, in techacha, ymixpan qujmamanaia, quixquequetzaia, qujtitiquetzaia, yn jnteuoan in tolpactli, qujtzinichpeloa qujtacaloa, qujtzinixcoloa, vncan conalaoa in eztli.

Auh in eztli, çan teiollotlama, yn aqujn telpuchtli, itech qujquixtiaia, ytlanitzco, anoço ynacaztitech.

Auh in necujltonoloia, in netlacamachoia: yn aço tetecuti, teiacanque, achcacauhti, puchteca, yn inchachan cacxoiatema, in tolpatlactli, çacatapaiolli, tlatenvimololli, tlatenxinepanolli:

tlanepantla qujtlalia: vitztli, itech qujmamana no tlaezujlli, tlaezçotilli teutlacpa, oc achiton tonatiuh, iquac yn aiamo vncalaquj tonatiuh, in qujmamanaia.

Auh in ioaltica, yn oquichiuhque cioa atolli: aço quauhnexatolli, anoço nextamalatolli, anoço xocoatolli: injn atolli moteneoa, aquetzalli:

njman ie ic tlatlachpana yn jncalpulco. Auh yn otlachpanque njmã ie ic quitteteca in atolli, izquitecomac,

vel pepeiontimanj, pepetlantimanj, totontlapetztic, hypotoc quiztimanj: auh yn oceuh, yn oitztix, yn

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1. Great Vigil (*Gran Velada*), according to Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 296). Durán (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 274) refers to Uey tepeilhuitl as *gran pascuala*, and to Tepeilhuitl as "*pascuahorilla . . . pequeña en relación grande que celebran cada año*" (a little Easter in relation to the great one celebrated every year).

2. Sahagún describes these as *cañabrotes*. Cf. *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (Mexico: Pedro Robredo, 1938), Vol. III, p. 272. Seler, in *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 76, has *Bastoncillo* (*Stipes sp.*), and in *Einige Kapitel*, p. 83, n. 1, offers *Rohrkolben or Kolbenrohr* as alternatives.

3. *Pie—Abiet religiosa* (*H. B. K.*) *Schlecht & Cham.* in Clark's *Meadows Codex* (James Cooper Clark, ed. and tr.; London: Waterlow and Sons, 1938), Vol. II, p. 72; pine, in Seler, *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 83, citing Molina (*abeto, árbol de que se coge el olio de abeto*) and Hernández (Madrid, 1790, I, 24)—"*arbor est arcubus et cornuis, Abiet australi aut cedrus, aut congener.*" He equates *acxoiatl* with *cypressoid*, as does Garibay (*Llave del náhuatl*, p. 212). Sahagún used the term *laurel silvestre*, Seler says, and adds that *acxoiatl* was a name given to a variety of green branches. It is pictured in No. 377 of Paso y Troncoso's edition of the *Historia de las cosas de Nueva España*, Vol. VII (Lib. XI).

3a. *Agave americana* or century plant. The Mexican term *maguey* is used in this translation.

4. Sahagún, in *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 306: "*quenhonotzcatlli, que es hacha con hartas cosas y muy blanca, hecha con tequesquitl.*" In *Einige Kapitel*, p. 84, Seler specifies that the grains of maize were "*mit Pottasche gekochten.*"

5. A sour gruel, in Seler, *loc. cit.* Simeón (*op. cit.*) states that an acid fruit, such as tamarin, was used.

X796 he offered incense; he went forth to stand outside the entrance; he went forth to stand in the courtyard.

The fire priest[7] raised it to the four directions. And having done so, he cast the coals in the brazier; he then went in, and placed himself by the fire.

[262] Then in his turn he laid down four balls of dough made of maize, placing them very cautiously, very heedfully, very warily. If one [of the balls] rolled, then they seized him; he was apprehended. The priests said unto him:

"We priests have detained thee, for thou hast rolled [it]."

And the fire priest then entered [the temple]. Thereupon he sat down, and undid and removed [his adornment]. Then all the priests arranged themselves in front, and one by one, in turn, they placed on the ground the balls of dough.

[824 262] And some laid down four large, red and white tomatoes, or four small tomato buds;[8] and some spread out four green peppers.

They were watched well; all looked very closely, all observed carefully, lest mayhap one might roll one [of them]—lest perchance one might move or displace it or disturb it with his hand or displace it with his hand. And if anyone knocked [one of them], they laid hands upon him, they discovered him, they made him known, they marked him.

And if they noted on one [even] a little dirt, or a cobweb, or a small piece of cotton on either his head or his cape, then they seized him and marked him. Perchance one stumbled, slipped, or fell down. All [such malefactors] were seized.

Four days this was done, and four nights, that all acted with prudence.

[262] And after that the old priests[9] took away [the offerings]. They took for themselves what they wished [of the offerings], and ate them. Four days they took for themselves those things which had been laid as offerings.

[785] And when it was not yet midnight, then shell trumpets were blown. And when they were blown, then all unclothed themselves and cut *maguey* spines and pierced their ears with thorns. Thereupon were the spines stained with blood, and all [the priests] were smeared with blood. And they all arose.

in itlema: njman ic ic tlenamaca, quĳaoac oalmoquetza, itoalco oalmoquetza:

nauhcampa in conjaoa yn tlenamacac: auh in ic iuhquj, contema tlequauco tlexochtli, mec calaquj, onmotlalia tlecujlixquac:

vncan contema nauhtetl ynepapatlaia, ventelolotli, cencan tlamatzin, cencan juja, cencan matca in contlalia: intla centetl oquĳmjmjlo, ic caci, yc axioa, conjlhuja in tlamacazque.

Otimjtzacique tlamacazque, ca otitlamjmjlo.

Auh in tlenamacac, mec calaquj: njman ic motlatlalia, moxixitinja, moueueloa; njman ic onmoiacatia yn ixquichtin tlamacazque, ceceiaca cōtlalitimanj yn jnnepapatlaia, in ventelolotli.

Auh in cequjnti xitomatl, anoço itzoatomatl in concaoaia nauhtetl: auh in cequjntin chilchotl in contemaia, nauj:

cenca vellachielo, vel neixpetzolo, vel neixpepetzalo, yn açaca tlamjmjlor, yn açaca tlaoliniz, yn açaca tlamapetoniz, yn açaca tlamatzopeoaz. Auh intla aca otlamjmjlo, caci, conjximati, conmachiotia:

yoan intla aca ytech quĳttazque, tlaçoltontli, anoço tocatzaoalli, anoço ichcatontli: aço icpac, anoço itlmatitech, ic caci, conmachiotia: anoçe motepotlamja, moticujnja, anoço motlaujtequj, muchi ic neaxioa:

naujlhujtl ynjn muchioaia, yoā nauhioal, in nematcanemoaia.

Auh in ie iuhquj, njman ic quiquanja in quaquacujlti: quĳmocujlia intech monequj, quĳqua: naujlhujtl in quĳmocujliaia, in motlaueuenjaia:

auh yn aismo onaci ioalnepantla, mec tlapitzalo: auh yn ontlapitzaloc, njman ic nepepetlaoalo, yoan neuitzteco, yoan nenacazteco: njman ie ic mezuja in vitztli, yoan neçua: auh in ie iuhquj mec nequetzalo.

[793]

7. Sahagún (Robredo ed., Vol. I, p. 299) distinguishes three grades of priests—"Tlamacazque (que) es como sacrĳar; . . . tlamacazque, que es como diçiendo; . . . tlamacazque, que es como sacerdote. De estos nombres se nonbran los mayores dellos por estos pontifices. . . ."

8. *Itzoat*: leaf (Molina, *op. cit.*), or species of tomato (Simeon, *op. cit.*).

9. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún describes "estos viejos, que llamauan quaquacujlti: los quales traian los cauos tuĳidos de negro, enuarjolados: sobre en la corona de la cabeça, que tenia los cabellos largos, al rededor de los oluidaua."

handled them and cast them to the ground. If somewhere there was a puddle of water, there they cast them down and slid and rolled them, leaving them to wallow in the mud, covered with mire. Just so they forced them to the banks of the lake, to the place where they dragged people to the water, at a place called Totecco.

And when they had arrived there, the [chief] fire priest and the other fire priests thereupon [sacrificially] burned the papers and the gods molded in incense, and those formed of rubber. And the incense they scattered in various directions and spread over each of the reed mats.

And when this was done, it was as if they wounded the water when they cast [their captives] into the water. Like a roaring host the water stormed and rose. And if any tried to come out from under the water, they plunged him under, [so that] he sank deep.

And if any were experienced in water, when [the captors] had submerged them, they fared well.[23] They came out of the water at a distance, and then took off, fleeing and escaping.

And some, in truth, [the captors] caused to faint, and verily they swooned. Indeed, they left them, hurt, truly as if dead, laid out at the water's edge.

And some, who had swallowed much water—this bitter water—[their friends] held head down, that [the water] which they had swallowed might come out through their noses and mouths.

And when all this had come to pass, then all turned back, all returned again, blowing their conch shells as they went.

And those who had been cast into the water went only to their houses; their kinfolk accompanied them. They went sickened, trembling, shivering, that at home they might recover.

And when [the priests] had reached their houses, again were laid and spread out the mats of green and white reeds. And also were strewn about reeds. Here again began the fast named "the dry fast." Also there was fasting for four days. Not now was one detained [for misdemeanors]; nor did they now eat [only at midday].

At this time they began the [priests'] varied adornment. The novice priests aided the priests in their arraying. They prepared all the divers paper vest-

tlacana manj quiiaoatl, vmpa quimontlaça vmpa quinpepetzcoa, quinmjmjlloa, quinçoquipetzcotinemj, quiçoquinelotinemj, çan iuh quimonaxitia yn atenco, in teatlan papacholoian, itocaiocan totecco. 796X

Auh yn iquac yn onazcioac in tlenamacac, yoan oc cequintin tletlenamacaque, njman ie ic quitlatia yn amatl, yoan copalteteu, yoan vlzteteu: yoan yn jiauhtli, quitetepeoa, quicecenmana in tolpepechpan.

Auh yn iquac muchioa y, yn atl iuhquin tzoponti-manj, ynic teatlan papacholo: iuhquin tlacaoacatimanj, vel macoquetza yn atl: auh yn aca oalpanuetziznequj conpolactia, centlanj iuh.

Auh yn aca amatinj, yn oconpolactique, çan ic ceniauh, vecan onpauetzi, njman ic choloa, moielitia, momaquixtia:

auh in cequintin vel quimjhiiocaoaltia vel çoçotlaoa, ça nimjcque in quincaoa, ça q'nmictoccaoa atenco quinoaltetema:

auh in cequintin oquitotoloque atl, in chichic atl, quintzonixpiloca ic oalquiça, yn iniacac yn jncamac, yn oquitotoloca.

Auh in ie iuhquj njman ic oalujloca, icujtlaujc oalujloa oc cepa oallapiztiuj:

auh yn ontlanpapacholoque, çan inchan vihuj, quinujujca in inchantlaca, cocoxtiuj, viujujxcatiuj, tzitzicxilcatiuj, yn oconihiiocuizque inchan.

Auh yn oxtiosto calmecac, oc cepa tlatetoco, motetoca yn aztapilpetlatl, yoan no motetema yn atulin, oc cepa vncan peoa in neçaoaliztli, itoca netlacaçaoaliztli, no nauilhuijl in motlacaçaoaia, aocmo nexiiea, aocmo tlacatlaqualo: [785]

njman ic vncá ompeoa in tlatlachichioalo, quitlachichiujlinia in tlamacazque, tlamaxtotoa, quicecencaoa yn ixquich amatlatquitl, in tlaquechpaniotl, yn 796X 301

23. Either *le* restored or some *hach* would be acceptable reading for the Aztec text. Sahagún, in the Spanish column, states that they swam under water to escape.

a band] from ear to ear, which was called "black sweat," and they also applied pyrites [to it]. And some extended a black [stripe], called "a plaster of rubber," to their faces, and also it was sprinkled with pyrites.

And thus was their hair shorn: All were shorn like young warriors; together, all were shorn alike in the manner of young warriors. And those who had their temples closely cropped, were well shaven down, well scraped clean with a sharp piece of turtle shell. And they applied yellow ochre to their [remaining] hair; they colored it the color of maize flowers.

And thereupon, when they danced, they carried before them torches, pine fire brands, which flamed with much crackling and hissing. And as they carried them, the leaders of the youths [went] squatting because of the burden, as if running with thighs bent. And the resin, as it were, fell in large drops, and the live coals scattered and fell one by one. And the [charred] pine wood fell bit by bit to the ground.

And along the sides the lighting was only from fire ladles held in the hand. They who gave light were youths who had fasted twenty days. They were spread out in a circle, ranged on the sides. On one side were those of Tenochtitlan, and on the other side were those of Tlatilulco.

And they did not dance; they did only one thing —they only provided light. And they were on guard and kept close watch on people; their office was to be attentive that none might dishonor a woman; that none might look upon a woman, lest one might jest [with a woman].

If anyone was seen even only intending it, or trying it, maybe later—next day or two days hence—they punished him. They beat him with flaming pine boughs.[6] Verily, they left him for dead.

And when all were dancing, sometimes Moctezuma emerged and came forth to dance, and sometimes he came not forth. Only if he wished he did so.

And that they might go in line when they danced, they held one another by the hand or about the waist.

And some they grasped by the hand; all grasped hands. And thus they kept on with their feet, that they might take the dance steps all together with their feet. And they whirled about repeatedly; and they passed by the braziers, proceeding among [them]. They went back and forth among the rows of braziers. When they had reached the end [of the

6. See Plate 28.

no ca petzujaia, auh in cequjntin imixtlan caana tilli: itoca aujtolli no ca petzuja. [796r 302]

Auh ynic moximaia, muchintin motiachcauhximaia, cenuetzia in motiachcauhximaia: yoan yn incanaoacan qujconaloaia, vel qujcoconaloaia, vel caiochiquja: yoã qujtecoçãnujaia, qujtomjiolhujaia. [714]

Auh in ie iuhquj yn iquac ie mjtotia, tlepilli, ocopilli, qujniacana tlatlatiuh, cuecuetlacatiuh, cocomocatiuh: auh in qujnapaloa telpuchtequjoaque cenca eticiuj, iuhqujn tzitzintlaçça: auh yn ocotzotl, iuhqujn chachapaca, yoan in tlexochtli tetepeuhtiuh, cecenmantiuh: yoan in ocotl calichachaiaca. [373] [516]

Auh in tlatenco, çan matlematica in tlaujlo: iehoantin in tlaviaia telpopuchti, in mocempoalçauhque, tlaiaoalotimãca, ixtlapantimanj: cectlapal manj in tenochca, no cectlapal manj, in tlatilulca. [785]

Auh amo mjtotia, çan qujxcaujaia, çan ixqujch tetlaujliaia: yoan tlapicia, vel teixpicia, vel ymix intequjuh catca, ynic aiac ytla vncan qujmotequjtiz, ynic aiac vncan teixtlaxiliz, yn açaca vncan vetzcatiuh: [834]

intla aca oittoc, çan oc conjxxotia, coniximati, açoqujn jmoztlaioc, anoço qujn iviptlaioc, in qujtlatzacuiltia, qujujujtequj ocoquauhtica, tlàtlatlatiuh, ca micquj in qujcaoa. [684]

Auh yn iquac netotilo, in Motecuçoma, in quenmanjan, oalqujçaia, oalmjtotiaia: auh in quenmanjan amo oalqujçaia, çan yiollo tlamatia: [796r 535]

auh ynic tecpantiuj, in mitotia, monaoa, mocujtlanaoa.

Auh in cequjntin, inmatitech maana, nematitech neaano: auh ynic qujauhtiuj, yn imicxi, ynic tlayiaoa, çan ceniauh yn imicxi: yoan ontzitzinqujça, itlan qujqujztiuj in tlaujltetl, itzalan quiquiztiuj, itic cacalactiuj, yn izqujpantli tlaujltetl: yn oacito yn

X 796 **Thirty-third Chapter, in which are described the feasts and sacrifices which they offered as a service; which they performed in the days of the fourteenth month, which was called Quecholli.**[1]

The fourteenth feast day was called Quecholli.

When Tepeilhuitl ended, nothing was done for another five days. All was quiet.

And when the five days had passed, upon the next day all offered reeds [for arrows]; each seasoned [482] warrior took a load upon his back (those of Tenochtitlan and those of Tlatelulco). They all offered the reeds at the foot of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. And when they had been offered, then they came carrying them and bore them upon their shoulders [to their homes].

[441] And upon the morrow, once again all departed to the courtyard of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, that the reeds might be straightened in the fire. The reeds were to be straightened in the fire. Only this did they do. And when they had straightened [the reeds] in the fire, again they bore them away and went off with their burdens.

And on the third day, [when] once more all departed, the canes were brought. All came together— seasoned warriors, youths, young men of marriage- X 796 able age. And the small boys they took up [the ● 785 pyramid to the] temple, where they sat blowing their shell trumpets and being bled. They cut their ears, pressed out the blood, and anointed their temples [224] [with it]. It was said: "The deer are [anointed] with blood." They fasted for the deer, that they might hunt [them].

And when they assembled in the temple courtyard, those of Tenochtitlan were spread on one side, those of Tlatelulco on the other. Thereupon were made arrows. It was said: "They form the arrows, or their [bolts of] oak."

X 796 785 684 And when arrows were being formed, all did penances; all the men drew blood. And if any were seen

Injc cempoalli ômatlactli omei capitulo: vncan motenecca in ilhujtl, yoā in nextlaoalli, injc tlacotia: in quichioaia, in jpā ic cemjlhujtl, ic matlactetl on navi metztli, in motenecoaia, Quecholli.

Injc matlactetl on navi ilhujtl: ichoutl in motenecca Quecholli:

in ôquiz tepeilhujtl, oc macujlilhujtl in aiatle muchioaia, çan oc cactimanj:

auh in ôquiz macujlilhujtl: in jmuztlaioc, vncā in nexcamaco, cecen tlamamalli in conanaia tequjoaque, in Tenuchtitlan, in Tlatilulco: in nexcamacoia, vncā in icxitlan Vitzilobuchtli: auh in ônemacoc, njmā ic qujiquqjtze quiquequechpanca.

Auh in jmuztlaioc, ie no oc, ça ic vilca in jitoalco Vitzilobuchtli, tlatlemelaoalco, motlemelaoaz in acatl: çan oc ixquich, in muchioaia y: auh in vmmotlemelauh, oc ceppa çan no oalmotquj, oc ceppa intlatquj oalictiuh.

Auh injc eilhujtl, no ceppa vilca, mocotquj in acatl, vel ixquich cemolinj, in tequjoaque in telpuchtli, in tlapalivi: auh in oquichpipiltotonti, qujtlatlecavia in teucalli, vncā tlatlapiztoque, yoan mjçotoque: qujtequj in innacaz, in jmeztço conpatzca, incanaoncā conalaoa: mjtoaia, momaçaiço, quinneçaviliaia in mamaça, injc amjoaz.

Auh in ocêqujxoato teuitoalco: cecnj moteca in tenuchca, cecnj moteca in Tlatilulca: njmā ie ic-muchioa in mjtl: mjtoaia tlacati in tlacochtli, anoço yiaoaio.

Auh in jquac tlacatia, tlacochtli: neçaoaloia, qujneçaviliaia, ixquich tlacatl, mjçoia: auh in aquj itto,

1. "Precious Feathers" is suggested by Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 307). Chavero (*op. cit.*, pp. 147-8) states that the month was named for the kind of fine plumage seen at that time on the lake shores; Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 288) writes similarly— ". . . nombre de un Pexaro de plumas azul, y colorado, que al en este Tiempo, en especial en estas comarcanas, y ojos de Agua, que ai junto del Pueblo de Quecholac"; see also p. 296. Durán (*op. cit.*, II, p. 297) refers to Quecholli as *flecha arrojadiza*.

Tovar, while mentioning the kind of rich plumage, adds that captains raised their banners and performed warlike exercises. He describes it as a month of unrest and disturbance (Kubler and Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 32).

who did not draw his blood, they stripped him, nevermore restoring his cape to him. The overseers took it from him for good.

And when the arrows were being formed, no [man] lay with a woman. And the old men drank no wine; they became not drunk; they abstained and left the wine alone.

And when arrows were made, they brought out their measure; all were made of equal length. And the arrow-points were of equal length. None were larger than others; nothing was joined to them.

Thereupon, [when] the reed [shafts] were cut, they went to put them into the hands of those who fitted and put on the arrow-points. Securely they tied the [ends of] the reeds, binding them well with *maguey* fibres, so that the arrow shafts would not split back. They set [the points] in glue,[2] so that they were held fast, so that they were well embedded.

And when they had [thus] prepared them, then they applied pine pitch to the heads and the ends. This was done quite quickly.

And when they were finished, thereupon they were bound together; they tied them in [bundles of] twenty. And when they were assembled, then everyone was arranged in rows, all ordered in line, in procession, to leave [the bundles] there at the foot of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. There they heaped [the bundles] together. And when they had come to make [this] offering, then all departed [to their homes].

And the fourth day was called "Arrows are made for the homes." All men made arrows in their homes. Thus all passed the time; thus all tried [their skill] and practised, having set up, at a distance, [the leaf of a] *maguey* plant, which they shot with arrows. Hence were apparent those who were good marksmen, the able bowmen, those who could well wield the bow.

And upon the fifth day, one was concerned only with the dead. For them they made small arrows, each one measuring a hand's length, and put upon them only a little resin. And their points were only sticks. They bound four arrows and four pine torches with loose cotton thread, and laid them where the dead lay buried. And they placed [there] two sweet *tamales*. There [they remained] all day. And at sundown they thereupon burned them for [the dead] in the same place. There they set them on fire.

2. Cf. Sahagún (Bustamante ed.), Vol. III, pp. 241, 288.

in amo mjço qujpepetlaoaia, aocmo qujmaca in jtilma, iccen qujtqujlia in tepãmanj. 796r [795 685]

Auh in jquac tlacatia mjtl, aiac cioaccochia: auh in vevetque, amo quja in vctli, amo tlaoanaia, motlacaoaltiaia, qujmocaoaltiaia in vctli. [834 273]

Auh in muchioaia mjtl, oalqujça itamachiuhca, çan muchixqujch, in muchioaia: auh in tlaxichtli, çã muchixqujch, atle chicoviac, atle tlapatiliaia:

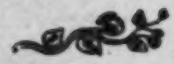
njmã ie ic tlateco in acatl, inmac qujoallaztivi, in tlatlaxichaquja in qujtlaxichaquja, vel qujchtecuja in acatl, vel ichtica qujtetecuja, injc amo cujtlazaianja in tlaxichtli: tzacupã in cõquetza, injc vel tilinja, injc vel tzitzicaz. 796r 411 [283] [38]

Auh in occencauhque: njmã ie ic cocotzovia, in jquac, yoan itzintlan, çan iciuhcã muchioa. [314]

Auh in ciecauh, njmã ie ic tlacujtlalpilo, cecempoalli in mocujtlalpia: auh in otlacenquja, njmã ie ic onnetecpanalo, onnevipanolo, oncempantioa in mocaoaz in vmpa icxitlan Vitzilobuchtli, vncan concentecpichoa: auh in õmomamanato, njmã ic viviloa.

Auh injc navilhujtl, mjtoaia, calpãnemjtilo, izqujch tlacatl momjtiaia intechachan, çan iuhquj injc neaviltilo, tel ic neiciecoloia, ic nemamachtiloia: ce veca qujoalquetzaia metl, qujmjmjna, vncan neci in aqujque vel qujmaiavi, in vel momaimati, in vellamjna. 796r 526

Auh injc macujlilhujtl, ça mjacaviaia in mjmjcque, qujnchichiviliaia, mjtotonti, çoçemjxtitl, no achitotem ic conococtzovia: auh in jtlaxichio, çan tlacotl: navi mjtl, no navi ocotl, concujtlalpia ica potonqui, impã contetema, in vncan tocttitoque, mjmjcque: yoan ontetl tzepelic tamalli, contetema, vncan cemjlhujtia: auh in ie oncalaquj tonatiuh, njman ie ic qujntlatlatilia, in çan ie no vncan: vncan contlecavia: 796r 765



X796 **Thirty-fourth Chapter, in which they tell of the feasts and sacrifices which were performed on the days of the fifteenth month, which was called Panquetzaliztli.**[1]

Inic 34 capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in ilhujtl, yoan in nezcaqualiztli, in muchioaia in ipan ic cemilhujtl, ic caxtolteti metztli, in mjtoaia: Panquetzaliztli.

The fifteenth feast day: this one was called Panquetzaliztli.

Injc caxtolteti ilhujtl: ichoatl in motenecoa, Panquetzaliztli:

[785] When the feast of Panquetzaliztli had not yet arrived, the priests fasted for eighty days, and laid down green boughs. When they began [the fast], it was upon the day following [the month of] Ochpaniztli. At midnight they spread the green boughs, on all the mountain tops and upon the circular altars, [even those] which were distant.

in ziamo aci ilhujtl Panquetzaliztli: in tlamacazque, nappoalilhujtl in moçaoaia, yoan ezcoiatlaliaia: iquac quijpeoaltiaia, in iuh onquiz imuztlaioc, Ochpanjztli: in ioalnepantla onacxoiatema, in novian tetepetiepac, yoã in momomozco, in veca.

And this they did until [the month of] Panquetzaliztli arrived. When they laid the green boughs, they went quite naked, wearing nothing. They went carrying green boughs; these [were] green reeds and thorns. And they went blowing their shell trumpets and pottery whistles.[2] They proceeded blowing [them] alternately.

[292] [534]

Auh inin qujchioaia, ixqujchica onaci in Panquetzaliztli, in onacxoiatlaliaia, çan pepetlauhtivi, atle intechaveztziuh, quixqujtivi in acxoiatl, ichoatl in acatl xoxouhquj, yoan vitztli, yoan intecciz, yoan in cocovilutl quipieztivi, quipapatlativi in quijpitza.

And when the feast of Quecholli ended, then began the singing and dancing, when was intoned the song named the Tlaxotecaiotl—the song of Uitzilopochtli. This was begun at nightfall; and it was ended at the time when the trumpets sounded, when the conch shells were blown.

[534]

Auh in ôquiz Quecholli ilhujtl: njmã ic peoa in cujcoianolo, in cujcatl in eos itoca tlaxotecaiotl, icujc in Vitzilobuchtli: im peoaloia, iquac in tlatlapoioan: auh in necacaoaloia, iquac in tlatlapitzalizpã, in ie tlatlapitzalo:

Also, among them, the women sang and danced—harlots, who went between [pairs of men] (as hath been told). Daily they did this, until twenty days [had passed].

no ieuan cujcoianoa in cioa in aviençme, tetlazalan mantivi (in juh onjto) mumuztlae in muchioa, ixqujchica cempoalilhujtl.

1796 778 And when the ninth day before [the feast] arrived, then were bathed in sacred water [the victims known as] the ceremonially bathed ones, or those to die the captives' death.[3] The old men of the tribal temple secured the water; they got the water there

Auh in oacic tlachicunaviti, vncan motecaltiaia in tlatlaltilti, anoço xuchimjoque: in calpulveuetque, conanaia ad: vmpa in vitzilobuchco conanaia ad,

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1. "Hieroglifo de Izcalinca," in Guillemy, op. cit., p. 313; "el arte de cruchidar el pendejo" (Clavijero, op. cit., p. 170)—possibly a reference to the raising of the standard and the statue of Peyotl up to the altar in the Temple of Uitzilopochtli. Torquemada (op. cit., p. 299) writes: "Hazian solemnissima fiesta de Penitencias, à Vuestros; porque assi por este Tiempo se hazian hartas las crueldades de sus Penas: las quales pasadas, contemplaban à sus sus Guarismo; y en este tiempo renouauan sus Mezquinos, Aldabas, y Lanternas; y debaxo de sus Torreones, y Miradores, y otros cosas de interès que tenian. De manera, que en todo este Mes andauan los Penitentes, en obras, y exercicios tales, y hazian todos ellos sus oraciones Guarismo, y Bendiciones; porque Guachar tenia ordenado à cumplimiento, y muchas muchas Cosas, y hazia grandes pinchadas, y despensas, y gastos de Comeres, y Rodeos, y en nombre Publico, y grandes Penitencias, en orden de ampliar, cada qual, sus Retiros, y Seruicios. Y antes de las cruchas no acostumbrauan vsalo de esto; porque los Penas, y Seruidores, no se rebeuen, ni destruyessen; y para esto hazian grandes Ofrendas à su Dios Huitzilopochtli, ô Camastli, ofrecandole Arinas, y otras cosas, pidiendole fauor, y ayuda contra sus enemigos."
According to Torres (Kubler and Gibson, op. cit., p. 82) it was the special festival of the war captains, who set up a banner in the middle of the temple courtyard.
2. "Trompetas de Guerra vsauan Tambien," according to Soler, op. cit., p. 205.
3. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 1, n. 3; p. 19. Ixtlilxochitl (Relaciones, II, p. 370) says: "Los sacerdotes hacian sus banquete en que hacian à comer carne humana; esto hacian en la fiesta que se llama panquetzaliztli. Para esta fiesta compraban esclavos que se llamaban tlaxilacos,

And of them who aided the Uitznaua, if one were taken, he met his end. In truth, the bathed ones slew [their opponents]; using a two-toned drum [as an offering stone], upon it they cut open their breasts.

And the onlooker, he who oversaw [the battle], when he noted that [he who bore the likeness of] Paynal already approached, then cried out, saying: "Mexicans! Now he cometh! Now already is brought the lord! Enough!"

And when they heard this, then the bathed ones took after [the others]. Then dispersed, melted away, and departed those who had aided [the Uitznaua], who had rolled up the paper.

Thereupon came [he who bore] Paynal. First arrived the standards, two devices for seeing, made of [sprays of] feathers, with a hole in their midst. Two mere boys bore them hence, hastening greatly. Then [from the boys] two warriors took [the standards] quickly—[warriors] who could hasten and run fast.

And when they had run a certain distance, two other [warriors] took it briskly from them. So they carried it in relays.

And when they reached the eagle portal[13] [of the courtyard of the Temple of Uitzilopochtli], none took these from them; they took the devices up [to the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. These who came ahead, when they had brought up the devices for seeing, cast them upon the image of Uitzilopochtli, which [was made of a dough of] amaranth seed. [There] they fell to the ground, faint, and lay panting.

And the fire priest thereupon came forth and cut their ears with a flint knife, whereupon they came to themselves; thus they revived.

And when they had revived, then they climbed down, taking the amaranth seed dough [image] which they had captured.[14] They took it to their homes, [for] it was in truth their captive, and ate it. They offered it to their kin and to their neighbors, who all ate of it.[15]

Auh in tlapalevia in quimpalevia vitznaoa, intla çe axiocaci, no mjquja: vel iioma quimjctia in tlaaltilti, çan teponaztli in jpan conelitequj.

Auh in tlachixtquj, in oquittac, in ocoiittac in ie vitz Paynal: mec tzatzi, quitva, Mexicae, ca ie vitz, ca ie movicatz in tlacatl, ma ixquich.

Auh in oquicacque: mec tetoca in tlaaltilti: vncan xiuitinj, tlaxitinj, vivi, in otepaleviaia, in otlaemaviaia.

Niman ie ic vitz in Paynal: achtopa oalcoa in machiotl, auh in tlachicloni vr-etl hivitl in tlachioalli, yiticoionquj, çã oc pipiltotonti in quioalitquj, cenca quioalmotlalochtia, njman quincujlitiquiça in tiacaoan, in vel paina, in vel totoca:

auh in oquexquich oquioaltoctique, oc ceppa no vmĕtin, quincujlitiquiça, çan iuhquin quimomamacativi.

Auh in oacico quauhquiiaoac, aocac vel quincujlia, ie ezan quipantlaçaxque, in jicpac Vitzilobuchtli: in vel iacattiuh, in opanvetzito in tlachtlcloni, ipan contlaça in jxiptla Vitzilobuchtli, in tzoalli ça onchachapantivetzi, vel çoçotlaoc, ça cicintoque.

Auh in tlenamacac, njman ie ic iauh, quimmacaztecpavia, ic oallachia, inic moucalia.

Auh in omoucalique mec oaltemo, quinquitze in ocacique tzoalli, quimotquilia in inchan, ca nel immal, quixqua, quinnamaca in ineanielque, yoan in tlaxillacaleque, quicenqua.

13. Cf. Sahagún (Bustamante ed., Vol. IV, p. 88): "y luego se juntaron los capitanes y cercaron dentro del un patio que se llamaba quauhxicalco. . . . En este lugar estaba este dquila de piedra grande; y abre cerca un estanque de hondura, y por este llamadero a aquel patio quauhxicalco; de la una parte del dquila estaba un tigre de piedra, y de la otra un ocelotle de piedra."

14. Clavigero (op. cit., p. 168) says such images had been made of both Uitzilopochtli and Paynal: ". . . fabricaban . . . dos estatuas de aquellos dioses, de la pasta de varias semillas con sangre de niños sacrificados, y la pasaban por hombres diputados todos de sangre."

15. In op. cit., pp. 169-70, Clavigero writes: "aquella noche que era la última del mes, celebraba también los mexicanos y a la medianoche ajustaban a la estatua de masa de Huitzilopochtli a una cala que había en el recinto del templo, y era precisamente inferiormente del rey, de cuatro diputados del templo y de cuatro sacerdotes de los seminarios, el monarbre Quetzalcoatl, que era jefe de los llamamapaxtes o portadores, arreglado en donde a la estatua con que la arrancaban de cuatro a parte. Con esta decían que ya había entrado en Dios; uno de los sacerdotes le sacaba el corazón y lo presentaba al rey para que lo comiese; el cuerpo se dividía por medio y la una mitad se daba a los diputados y la otra quedaba para los sacerdotes; de esta se hacían siete porciones para los cuatro cuarteles de la ciudad, y cada parte se dividía en menudos pedazos que se distribuían entre todas las individuos del mismo cuartel. Esta ceremonia explicaban con la palabra teocualo, comer a Dios. Las mujeres no probaban de esta especie viendo por cierto, como se puede creer de un pertenecer a un uso el empleo de la guerra."

Here is described a feast which was observed every eight years.

For Atamalqualiztli (the eating of water *tamales*) came to be observed every eight years. At times it was observed [in the month of] Quecholli; or at times it was observed [in the month of] Tepeilhuitl.

For seven days all fasted. Only water *tamales*, soaked in water, were eaten, without *chili*, without salt, with neither saltpeter nor lime. And they were eaten [only] at midday.

And he who fasted not at this time, if he were noted, was then punished. And much was this, the eating of water *tamales*, hallowed. And he who did not this, if he were not seen nor noted, it was said,—he was visited with the itch.

And when the feast arrived, it was said: "Ashes are put on faces," and "They are [bedight with] sea shells."[6] And it was when indeed all the gods danced. Thus, it was named the dance of the gods.

And all came forth [as] humming birds, butterflies, honeybees, flies, birds, giant horned beetles, black beetles—those forms men took; in these guises they came dancing.

And still others were in the guise of sleep. [Some had] garlands of fruit *tamales*; birds' flesh [*tamales* formed yet others'] garlands. And before them was the maize bin, filled with fruit *tamales*.

And also all [these] appeared—those who played the rôles of the poor, those who sold vegetables, those who sold wood. Also appeared one in the guise of a leper. And still more took the forms of birds, large owls, screech owls.[7] And even other [birds] they counterfeited.

And [an image of] Tlaloc was set in place. Before him was [a vessel of] water. It was full of serpents and frogs. And they who were called *Maçateca* swallowed the serpents [while still] full alive. Each one severally held them only in their mouths, not with their hands. They took them only in their teeth, when they seized them in the water, there before

Nican mitoa, yn ilhujtl: in chichicuexiuhtica muchioaia. 796[X]

Auh yn atamalqualiztli, chicuexiuhtica in muchiuhtiuja: in quenmanjan ipan in muchioaia quecholli: auh anoço quenmanjan ipan in tepeilhujtl muchioaia.

Chicomjlhujtl, in neçaoaloia: çan tlapactli atamalli, in moquaia, amo chillo, amo iztaio, amono tequjxqujo, amono tenexio: a[n]h tlacatlaqualoia. [795] [262]

Auh yn aqujn amo moçaoaia yn ipan jn, intla machoia, njman tzacujltiloia: auh cenca ymacaxoia y, in atamalqualiztli: auh yn aqujn amo qujchioaia, intlacamo ittoa, anoço machoia, qujlmach xixiiotia. [688]

Auh yn jquac ilhujtl quiçaia, motemoa ixnextioa, yoan atecuculetioaia: yoan yn jquac cenca muchintin mjtotiaia in teteu: ic mjtoaia, teuimixtoloia:

yoan inq'ch vncan oalnecia in vitzitzilin papaloti, in xicotli, in çaiolin in tototi, in temoli, tecujtlaololio: yn ipan moqujxtiaia tlaca, yn ipan oalmjtotiaia. [535]

Auh yn oc cequjntin ipan moqujxtiaia in cochiztli, in xococamalouiquj, ypan totolnacatl yn jxcouiquj: yoan ymjxpan ycaca, in tonacacuexcomatl, tenticac in xococamalli. [262]

Auh no nuchi vncan oalnecia, yn ipan moq'xtiaia in motolinja, yn motequjqujlnamaqujlia, yn motequaquauhnamaqujlilia: no yoan vncan oalnecia, in teucoconquj ypan moqujxtiaia: yoan yn oc cequjntin totome, in tecuhtl, in chichtli ipan quiçaia: yoan oc cequj ipan moqujxtiaia. [463]

Auh motlalitiaia in tlaloc, ixpan mikca yn atl, vncan temja in cocoa, yoan in cuciame, yoan in ichcouitin motemoa, maçateca, vncan qujntoloia in cocoa, çan iniektioja, cecciaca, incamotica in quimonanaia, amo inmatica: çan quimontlanquexhixia, ynjc quimoc- 796[X]

6. Gardner ("Huitzilin brave," p. 310) translates *tzauctepec* as "*se ensucian la cara*," *chiconahuiapec* appears in the same text, translated as "*se hacen cruces sobre del agua*." Cf., however, *atzauctli* in Molina, *op. cit.*

7. *Tecolotl* [owls; *chichtli* [vultures (*loc. cit.*). Cf. also Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 117, and Angel María Garibay K. in Tlalocan, Vol. I, p. 169.

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Astec NU7

Tlahxicco.

Tlahxicco: here died he who was named [and who was arrayed in the manner of] Mictlan Tecutli. Each year he died upon the feast of Tititl. And when the impersonator of Mictlan Tecutli died, then the Five Priest of Tlillan offered incense. And this was done only by night, not by day.

Uey Quauhxicalco.

Uey Quauhxicalco was Moctezuma's place of penances. Here, when there was fasting, one said it was the fasting for the sun. And every two hundred and three days there was a fast for the sun. And also here died they who were named Chachanme—only four [of them]; and here died [he who was the] likeness of the sun-[god] and of the moon-[god]. And likewise many captives died here. And this [occurred only] when fate so decreed.

Tochinco.

Tochinco: here died [he who was the] likeness of [Quae tochtli], once yearly, during the feast of Tepeilhuitl.

Teotlalpan.

Teotlalpan. Here was made a procession yearly, when the feast of Quecholli arrived. And when the procession was made, then they departed for Çacatepec. And when they reached it, then all hunted [game]. And Moctezuma then rewarded [the successful hunters]. Atid when he had rewarded [them], then he returned; no longer did he stay there. Likewise [the huntsmen] then all departed; no longer did they remain here, [but] departed for Mexico; and they took a different road. Verily, many men went to the Çacatepec.

Tilapan.

Tilapan: here were bathed the five priests—at night only, and often. And when they had bathed, thereupon they cast incense into the fire and offered

Tlahxicco.

In tlahxicco: vncan mjquja, in jtoca catca Mjctlan tecutli: cexiuhtica in mjquja, ipan in tititl quiçaia. Auh in ommjc in jxiptla mjctlan tecutli: njman vncan vallenamacaia, valletemaia, in tlillan tlenamacac. Auh injn muchioaia: çan iooan, amo cemjlhuitl. 796 346

Vey quauhxicalco.

In quauhxicalco, itlamacoaian catca in Motecuçuma: iquac in vncan moçauaia, mjtoaia: netonatiuhçaualoia: auh mamatlacpovalti... vncitica in juh muchioaia, in netonatiuhçaualoia. Auh ioan vncan mjquja: in mjtoaia, chachanme: çan navintin: yoan vncan mjquja in jxiptla tonatiuh, ioan metztli: auh ioan cenca mjequja in mamalti, vncan mjquja. Auh ynjn, çan ypan ietiuh. [785]

Tochinco.

In tochinco: vncan mjquja in jxiptla tochinco, cexiuhtica: ipan tepeilhuitl.

Teotlalpan.

In teotlalpan, vncan thiamalovia, cecxiuhtica: iquac in quecholli quiçaia illhuitl. Auh in ootlaixualoloc: njman ie ic vmpeoa in çacatepec: auh in onaxivac, njman ie ic omjoa: auh in motecuçuma, njman vmpa ommocuitlavia: auh in ommocuitlauh, njman ye ic valpeoa: ayocac vmpa ommocoa. Çan no yri injc vilnoaia, aiec noiac njcan mocaualtivia in mexico: yoan oiocac vel qujtocaia: vel mochi tlacatl vmpa via in çacatepec.

Tilapan.

In tilapan: vncan mahiaia in tlenamacaque, çan iooalica: ioan muchipa. Auh in jquac ommolòque: njman ie ic tlotoma, tlenamaca, in vmpa mjtocapan

feast of] Teotl eco was this done, and also yearly. And when they had cast men into the fire, then the priests came down, and then they [performed the ceremony of] pricking paper with thorns.

muchioaia, no cexiuhtica. Auh yn onnetlepantlaxoc: njman ye ic oaltemo in tlamacazque, njman ye ic amatlavitzoa. 796 X 346

The Skull Frame.

The Skull Frame: Here they strung up the severed heads of the captives whom they had cast into the fire, who had died there at the Teccalco. Likewise this was done yearly.

Tzompantli

In tzompantli: vncan quiçoia in mamaltin intzontecon, in quintlepantlaçaia, in vmpa mjquja teccalco: çan no cexiuhtica yn muchioaia.

The Temple of Uitznaoac.

The Temple of Uitznaoac: here died those named the Centzonuitznaoa; and many [more] were the captives who here died. And upon [the feast of] Panquetzaliztli was this done, and [it was done] yearly.

Vitznaoac teucalli.

In vitznaoac teucalli: vncan mjquja, in jntoca centzonvitznaoa, yoan mjiec malli vncan mjquja: auh ipan in panquetzaliztli muchioaia, yoan cexiuhtica.

Tencacalco.

Tencacalco: here captives were slain and died, only when fate so decreed—not every year.

Tencacalco

In tencacalco: vncan mjcoaia, vncan mjquja in mamalti: çan tepan yetiuh, amo cexiuhtica.

Tlacochcalco Acatl Yiacapan.

Tlacochcalco Acatl Yiacapan: here were guarded the spears and arrows. Also here captives were slain and died. And it was only by night that they were slain, and only at times when it was wished [that they should be slain].

Tlacochcalco acatl yiacapan.

In tlacochcalco acatl yiacapan: vncan mopiaia in tlacochtli, in mjtl: no vncan mjcoaia, vncan mjquja in mamalti: auh çan iooan in mjcoaia, yoan çan molnamjquja yn jquja.

Tecciacalco.

Tecciacalco: likewise here were slain and died captives—only by night, also only when it was their fate, when it was the whim [of the priests].

Teociacalco.

In teociacalco: no vncan mjcoaia, vncan mjquja in mamalti: çan no iooaltica, çan no tepan yetiuh, çan molnamjquja.

Uitznpenalco.

Uitznpenalco: here the priests, those who did penances, scattered the thorns; or else the green boughs, when they did penances in various places.

Vitznpenalco

In vitznpenalco: vncan quiçcpeoaia in tlamacazque in ja tlamaceoaia, in vitztli: anoço acxoiatl, yn jquac canjn ontlamacenoia. [785]

Atempan.

Atempan: here they assembled the [child sacrifices called] "Human Banners." And when they had gathered them together, thereupon they carried them in procession; they carried them upon litters.

And when they had carried them in procession, then they dispersed them. Perchance they left them at Tepetzinco, in the middle of the lagoon, or at Quauhtepec, above Yiauhqueme.

Atempan.

In atempan, vncan qujntecpicheoaia in tlacateteuhti: auh in jquac in oqujntecpichoque: njman ye ic qujntlaiaoalochtia, qujntlapechvia. 796[1] 346

Auh in jquac oqujmontlaiaoalochtique: njman ye ic qujnmoiaoa, aço atlitic tepetzinco qujmoncaoaia, anoço quauhtepec, yiauhqueme ijcpac.

Tezcacoac Tlacochcalco.

Tezcacoac Tlacochcalco. When there were very many captives, sometimes they were slain here. And here were kept the spears and the arrows to be used in conquests.

Tezcacoac tlacochcalco

In tezcacoac tlacochcalco: vncan mjcoaia, çan quemman, yquac in cenca mjiec malli: yoan vncan mopiaia in tlacochtli, in mjtl: ynjc tepeoaloya. [712]

Acatl Yiacapan Uei Calpulli.

Acatl Yiacapan Uei Calpulli: here they gathered together [the slaves] for the Tlaloc. And when they had assembled them all, then they here slew them.

And when they had slain them, then here they cut them in pieces, and cooked them; they put squash blossoms with their flesh.

And when they had cooked them, then the nobility, and all the important men ate [the stew]; but not the common folk—only the leaders.

Acatl yiacapan vei calpulli.

In acatl yiacapan vey calpulli, vncan qujcenqujztiaia in tlatlaloque: auh in jquac oqujccnqujztique, njman vncan qujnmjctiaia: [567]

auh in jquac in oqujmonmjctique, njman vncan qujntetequja, yoan qujnpaoacia, caiouchqujlhujaia in jnnacaio. [266]

Auh yn jquac oqujnpaoaque: njman qujquaia in pipilti, in jxquich tecutlatoque: amono ichoantin in macoxalti, ça yehoantin in tlatoque.

Techielli.

Techielli: here were placed fir branches.[2]

Techielli.

In techielli: vncan acaxiotemaloia.

The Tribal Temple.

All the small houses which stood around the temples were called *calpulli*. Here men fasted.

And only the noblemen, the leading men, those who instructed noblemen's sons in war, the chieftains, here fasted, every twenty days.

[Of this,] it was said: "All men fast five days."

And when the fasting took place, five days hence

Calpulli.

In ic nuchi calxotoni in tlaiaoalotoc, ioan qujaoalotoc teucalli: in mjoaia calpulli, vncan neçaoaloia: 796[1] 346 785

auh çan ichoantin in pipiltin, in tlatoque, achcacauhti, tequjoaque vncan moçavaia, cempooaltica,

mjoaia: nemacujlçaoaloia.

Auh in jquac moçaoaia, oc iuh macujlilhujtl quj-

2. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún says that they gathered reeds (*cañas*).

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the feast was to be celebrated. And only when the feast day came was there fasting.

And thus was the fasting; [thus] did they abstain from food: some ate at midday, [fasting] until past midnight; and some, when they ate at midnight, thereupon went past midday [fasting]. Thus they proceeded mortifying themselves.

And they fasted for the space of five nights—not by day but by night. And every time night fell, then they went within [the *calpulli*]. And when day broke, they went forth and performed their tasks.

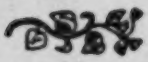
[834] Daily they thus did, until they had spent five days. And not then did they lie with women.

çaz ilhujtl: auh çan ypan in jlhujtl quiçaz moçaoaia:

auh injc mocaoaia, tlaqualizcaoaia: cequintin tlaquaia nepantla tonatiuh, ixquichica onaci iocalnepantla: auh in cequintin yquac tlaquaia in iocalnepantla, no yquac onaci in nepantla tonatiuh: çan iuh mopatlatiuh.

Auh in moçaoaia macujlioual, amo cemjlhujtl, çan iooan: auh in jquac ie iooa, njman calaquj: auh in otlathujc, valquiçaia, tlatequjpanoaia:

mumuztlae iuh quichioaia, injc onaci macujlilhujtl: yoan ayocmo cioacochia.



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Here Are Told the Various Modes in Which Blood Was Shed and Offered up.

Sacrificial Slaying, &c.

Thus was performed the sacrificial slaying of men, when captives and slaves died, who were called "Those who have died for the god."

Thus they took [the captive] up [to the pyramid temple] before the devil, [the priests] going holding him by his hands. And he who was known as the arranger [of captives], this one laid him out upon the sacrificial stone.

And when he had laid him upon it, four men stretched him out, [grasping] his arms and legs. And already in the hand of the fire priest lay the [sacrificial] knife, with which he was to slash open the breast of the ceremonially bathed [captive].

And then, when he had split open his breast, he at once seized his heart. And he whose breast he laid open was quite alive. And when [the priest] had seized his heart, he dedicated it to the sun.

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The Drawing of Straws [Through Parts of the Body].

The drawing of straws was thus done, only upon days proper for [such] drawing of straws.

And indeed in all parts [of the body was it done] —perchance in one's ear, or, whoever willed it, one's tongue or one's thigh. And thus they pierced the flesh: with a thornlike obsidian point. And thus they then here drew a slender twig, or a straw; and thus they gathered the flesh with a cord, that there they might pass a straw [through it]; and thus all performed a penance.

And when slender twigs had been passed [through the flesh], upon the morrow the straws were swept up and gathered; and the straws were much bloodied. And this was done in the house of the devil, or along roads where devils lay.

The Offering of Thorns.

The offering of thorns was thus performed: they plucked green reeds and çan magney spines, and

Vncan mjcoa in quenquicac neçoloia yn ezili ic tlamamaloia.

Tlamjctiliztli, &c.

Jnic mochivaia tlamjctiliztli, injc mjquja malli yoan tlacutli in mjtoaia teumiquj

injc contlecaviaia ixpan diablo, çan caantivi imatitech. auh in tevehteca motocaiotiaia, ichoatl contecaia in jpan techcatl,

auh in jcoac oipan contecac navi tlacatl in qujtitilinjaia in jma in icxi, auh ie imac onoc in tlenamacac tlamacazquj in tecpatl injc quehtequiz tlaaltilli,

auh njman ic conehtequj conan,jia achto in jiollo: auh ça ioltoc in quehtequja, auh in jcoac oconanjlique yiollo conjavilinia in tonatiuh.

Tlacoqujtilinli.

Jn tlacoqujtiliztli[illegible] muchivaia, çan no ipan in tlein tonalli in tlacoqu[illegible]oia,

auh çan novjian aço inacazco, anoço in aquja quinequiz inenepilco, anoço imetzpan, auh injc qujcoionjaia inacaio ichoatl in vitzauhquj in itztli, auh ic niman vncan quiquistiaia in tlacutl, anoço çacatl, auh injc qujtilinjaia in inacaio mecatica injc vncan quiquistiaia tlacutl injc tlamacevaloia,

auh in jcoac otlacuquacilor, in muztlaioc tlachpanoia mochpanoia in tlacutl yoan in çacatl cẽca ezço, auh in muchivaia y, ichan Diablo anoço vtli in vncan manj Diablome.

Nevizmamalinli.

Jn nevizmamalinli ic muchivaia concuja in acto-

bloodied them. Then they laid as offerings upon the green reeds two thorns.

In all places—some of them perchance in two places, or three, they laid the thorns as offerings; or in five places, only when it was of their own will.

istl yoan contequja in mevitztli, auh quezvjaia ic quivalmanaia in ipã acxoiatl vme in vitztli

noviian in aca ꝯ vecan anoço ecan in quimanaia vitztli, anoço macuilcan çan teiollotlama.

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The Bloodying.

When they bloodied themselves, thus did they do: they cut their ears with an obsidian blade, and then took out blood from about the ears.

Nepolitli.

Jn mĳçoia injc quichioaia itztli ica in contequja in jnacazco, auh njmã ic quivalpipiloizia in eztli in innacaztitlan.

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The Cutting of the Ears.

Likewise this bloodying was a cutting of the ears, when one was bloodied by the cutting of the ears.

Nenacaztequilitztli.

Çan ie no ichoatl in neçcliztli in nenacaztequilitztli in mĳçoia in monacaztequja.

The Twisting off of the Heads [of Birds].

The twisting off of the heads [of birds] was thus done: when they twisted the necks of small birds before the devil, also they dedicated [the blood] to him, and cast down [the body] before the devil. There the body of the small bird lay beating its wings.

Tlaquechcotonalitztli.

Jn tlaquechcotonalitztli ic mochivaia ca iconc in tlatotozintli ixpan quĳcotonaia in Diablo no conjavitinia, vncan contlaçaia in ixpan Diablo, vncan tlapapatlatiuc in jtlac in totozintli.

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The Eating [of Sacrificial Victims' Blood by the Gods].

Thus was done the eating [of sacrificial victims' blood by the gods]: When [the priests] had cut open a slave's or a captive's breast, then [the owner of the victim] took his blood in a vessel and, perchance, cast a paper into the vessel, which drew up the blood.

Then he took [the blood] in the vessel and placed upon the lips of all [the images of] the devils the blood of him who had died for the gods.

Tlachichiquatlilitztli.

Jnjc mochivaia tlatlatlaquaililitztli, in jconc ocontlecque in tlacatli anoço malli, njman quĳcuja in iczço castica yoan ꝯ amatl contlaçaia in caxic quĳchichinahuia in eztli,

njman ic quĳquja castica in izquintin Diablome in tenco quĳcuitlalilitzia in eztli mochintin in jezço teumĳcopã.

The Payment of a Debt [to the Gods].

The payment of a debt [to the gods] was thus done: when mishap something had befallen one, purchaser sickness, when he recovered, then perchance he thus paid his debt with *copal* [incense] or paper [spotted with] liquid rubber. Because he did

Nextlavalitztli.

Jn nextlavalitztli injc mochivaia in jquac ꝯ aca in tlein ipã mochivaia, ꝯ cocoliztli in jquac opatic, njman ꝯ cupalli yoã amatl injc nextlavaia,

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Abstinence.

When all abstained, they did not fast. But none washed themselves with soap nor in the steam bath; neither did [men] lie with women. Only when it was [the feast of] Panquetzaliztli did they fast for seven days.

Neçaoalizt̃li.

Inic neçaoaloia amo tlacatlaqualoia, çan ie aiac mamoviaia, aiac motemaia, anoiac cioacochia: çanyio ẽyuac in panquetzaliztli, tlacatlaqualoia chicoeniluiztl. 796r 782 785

war, they made, as it were, a supplication when anyone went where there was war, lest something might go amiss [with them]. They said:

"Not here shall I die; [it is] in war that I go to die."

And when battle was already joined, they first plucked grass, shook it out toward the sun, and said:

"He will destroy and slay [our foe]," or, "He will capture [him]."

In this wise was a prayer raised to the sun.

iuhqujnma ic nenetoltiloia, jn jquac aca iauh iavc intla itla ic motolinjtinemj qujtoaia

amo njcan in njmiquiz, iavc in njmiquitiuh

auh in iẽc ic muchivaz iauiotl achto qujpia in çacatl qujtzetzeloaia in jvicpa in tonatiuh qujtoaia, vnpopolihuiz y in tlamiquiz, anoço tlamaz

iuhqujn ic monetoltiaia ivjc tonatiuh.

The Blowing of Trumpets.

Thus was done the blowing of trumpets: when it was late at night, when it was already approaching midnight, [then it was] when trumpets were sounded, that all [the priests] might offer blood in the house of the devil. Therefore were [the priests] awakened.

Tlatlapitzaliztli.

Injc muchivaia in tlatlapitzaliztli iquac in ie tlaquauhiovac, in ie onacitiuh iovalnepantla iquac tlapitzaloia ic neçohoaia in jchan Diablo, ic teixtiloia.

The Illumination with Fire.

Thus was done the illumination with fire: when we people had passed [the night until] midnight and also trumpets had been sounded, thus were men awakened. Thus those known as the besters began the keeping of the watch. And if any did not awake, they poured water upon him, or else they shook [coals of] fire upon him, or else they cast him into the water at Tlilapan or at Coapan.

Tlatica tlavliztli.

Injc muchivaia tlatica tlaviliztli, in iquac ie titlaca in iohoalnepantla oacic, no tlapitzalo, ic teixitilo, ic pevaia in tlapializtli motenehoaia tlavitequjni, auh in aqujn amo veliça atl ipan qujnoqujaia, anoço tletl ipã qujtzetzclovaia, anoço atlan contlaçaia vmpa tlilapan, anoço coapan.

The Piercing of Ears.

The piercing of ears was also undertaken [because of] the devil. Hence were ears bored.

Nenacazzapotlaliztli.

In nenacazzapotlaliztli no ic tlaiiecalhujloia in Diablo injc nenacazcoioniloia.

The Piercing of the [Lower] Lip.

In like manner the piercing of the [lower] lip: similarly, for the devil, was the boring of the [lower] lip endured.

Netezzapotlaliztli.

I Çan no iuhquj in nenacazzapotlaliztli çan no ic tlaiiecalviloia in Diablo in netezzapotlaliztli.

X 796 **A True [Relation] of how They Served the Sun; and of how many Times Trumpets Were Blown During the Day and During the Night; and of how many Times Incense Was Offered.**

Each day, when the sun arose, quail were slain and incense was offered. And thus were quail slain: they wrung the necks of the quail and raised them dedicating them to the sun.

And they invoked [the sun], saying:

"The sun hath come forth—the shafts of heat, the turquoise child, the soaring eagle. And how he will go on, or how he may tarry [we know not]. Perchance something [ill] will be done his servants and vassals."

They said unto him:

"Work; perform thy office [for us], O our lord."

And this each day was thus done when the sun rose, [as hath] been said.

And thus was incense offered four times during the day, and five times during the night: The first time [was] when the sun burst forth. The second time [was] when [it was] time to eat [the first meal]. And the third time [was] at midday; and the fourth time [was] when already the sun had set.

And at night, thus was incense offered: the first time, when it was dark; the second time, when it was [534] time to sleep; the third time, when the shell trumpets were sounded; the fourth time, at midnight; and the fifth time, near dawn. And when it was dark, incense was offered and a supplication was made to the night.

It was said:

"The Lord of the Night, he of the sharp nose, hath unfolded, and we know not how his office will end."

X 796 And [his] feast day came upon the day of the day-count [called] naui ollin, every two hundred ● 795 and three days. And when the day had come, all did penances; all fasted for four days. And when they reached the day of the day-count, at noon, shell trumpets were blown, and straws were passed through the flesh to draw blood. And they cut the ears of little children lying in their cradles. And all the people bloodied themselves, and no supplications

Imelaoaca, in quenjn tlaiecultiloia tonatiuh: yoan quezqujpa in tlapitzaloia in cemjlhujtl, yoan in ceiocoal: yoan quezqujpa in tlenamacoia.

In mumuztlae in jquac valquiçaia tonatiuh, tlacotonaloia, yoan tlenamacoia. Auh injc tlacotonaloia quiquechcotonaia in çolin, conjaviliaia in tonatiuh,

yoan quitlapalovaia quitoaia

Oquiçaco in tonatiuh, in tonamotl, xiuhpiltontli, in quauhtlevanjtl: auh quen onotlatocaz quĕ cemilhujtiz, cujx itla ipan mochivaz in jcuitlapil, in jiatlapal

conilvjaia.

Ma ximotequjtili, ma xjmotlacotili, totecujoe.

auh injn mumuztlae iuh muchivaia in iquac valquiçaia tonatiuh mjtoaia.

Auh injc tlenamacoia, nappa in cemjlhujtl, auh macujlpa in iovaltica. Injc ceppa iquac in valmomana tonatiuh. Injc vppa iquac in tlaqualizpan, auh injc Expa iquac in nepãtla tonatiuh, auh injc nappa iquac in ie oncalaquj tonatiuh.

Auh in iovaltica, injc tlenamacoia. Injc ceppa tlapoiaoa. Injc vppa netequilizpan. Injc Expa tlatlapitzalizpan, auh injc Nappa ticatla, auh injc macujlpa tlatvinavac, auh in iquac tlapoiava tlenamacoia tlapaloloia, in iovalli

mjtoaia.

Ovalçouh in iovaltecutli in iacavistli, auh quen onvetziz in jtequjuh.

Auh in ilhujuh quiçaia ipan cemjlhujtonalli navi ollin, matlacpoalli, vnci içe, auh in iĕc ie onaci ilhujuh, neçavaloia, navilhujtl tlacatlaqualoia, Auh in ipã cemilhujtonalli in oacic ilhujuh, in nepantla tonatiuh, tlapitzaloia, tlacoqujstiloia: auh in pipiltzintinti coçolco onoque quinnacaztequja: auh nuchi tlacatl mjçoia, auh atle ic tlapaloloia, çan jxquich in

were then made. But everyone drew blood; straws were passed through tongue or ear-lobe, and incense was offered. Everyone [did so]; none were negligent.

And there was the image of that one, [the sun, at a pyramid temple] called Quauhxicalli. There was erected his image, his image was designed as if it had the mask of a man [but] with [the sun's] rays streaming from it.[10a] His sun ornament was round, circled with feathers; surrounded with red spoonbill [feathers]. Here in his presence was the fasting done, and the passing of straws through the flesh, the laying of offerings, and the slaying of quail.

And upon his feast day, also many captives died, and these were also called "those who died in war." These went to the house of the sun and dwelt with the sun.

neçocohoaia, tlacoquistiloia, tlenamacoia muchi tlacatl aiac ixcauhticatca, 796r [785]

auh inon catca ixiptla, ichoatl, in motenchoaia quauhxicalli, vncan moquetzaia in ixiptla, injc mjcujlovaia in ixiptla iuhq'n tlacaxaiaque itonameio itech qujztoia in itonatiuhtlatquj iavaltic vej ihujtica tlatzaqualli, tlauhquechol injc tlatzaqualli, vncan ixpan muchioaia nēçoliztli, in tlacoquistiliztli, in tlamanalizdi, in tlacotonaliztli. 796r 778

Auh inilhūjuh ipā no mjiequjntin miquja mamalti, auh no mjtovaia in iaumiquj : matiuh ichan vjia itlan nemj in tonatiuh. 796r

10a. See Pl. 68.

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796 he had bathed it, then once more he placed the array [on the image] and took it in his arms. Loudly they played the flutes for him.

And after this they bore [the image] to Itepeyoc and set it in place. And when they had come to set it down, thereupon they went away; all dispersed. Then ended the fasting and penances of [those who had] for the year [been] eaters of the god.[26]

in oconalti, niman ie no ceppa itlan aquj, quinapaloa, cenca quitlapichiliaia.

auh njman ie ic qujvica in itepeioc vmpa contlalia, auh in iõc ocontlalito, njman ie ic momoiaoa, viviloa, ie vncan tzonquiça, in ineçaoaliz, in jntlamaceoaliz, in teuquaque ce xivitl.

785 FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which are related other burdensome works which those did who received the body of Uitzilopochtli.

Still another group at this time began to fast in the year that they were to eat the god. They proceeded in this manner each year; thus they all continued giving [way to others]. They all went on exchanging [places]; there was mutual taking over and trading [of functions]. And likewise for the priests of the tribal temples there was fasting for a year. Great also was their suffering.

INJC NAVJ PARRAPHO vncan moteneoa in oc centlamantli tequjtl vel etic, in quichioaia in iehoantin quiçeliaia in jnacaio Vitzilobuchtli.

Ie no centlamantin vncan cõpeoaltia, in moçaoa in jpan xivitl teuquanque, çan juh otlatocatiuh, cecexiuhtica, çan jc nemamacotiuh, çan necacaviliotiuh, nepapatlaotiuh, nepapatlalo: auh çan ie no ivi in calpoleque, no ce xivitl in moçaoa cenca no motolinia,

Much from this did their affliction grow; great was their anguish, [which] filled their hearts and bodies. Verily, their misery surpassed [all else], since for one year there was to be fasting—since for a year they were to fast. [Each] man was to pass every night burning [wood] and providing light. Very much wood was consumed each night, as was the custom; and many broken up pine sticks, that torches might be lit. And they brought forth *chili*, tomatoes, salt, squash seeds, and water and food.

vel vmpa conquiça in netolinilintli, vel totoneoa, vel chichichina yn jniollo, in jnnacaio, vel iniacacpa quiquiça in jnnetoliniliz injc ce xivitl quitlaça moçaoa, injc mocexiuhcaoa, ice tlacatl ceioal quitlaça in tlatlatia, in tlavia, cenca miec in polivi intlatlatil quavitl icciual, yoan miec in ocotl tzomonoquj, injc tlaviloia, yoi quinentiaia, chilli, tomatl, izztal, nicochetli, yoan atl, tlaqualli.

785 423 And when they had nothing more with which to buy, they gave up their precious capes, that they might buy things, or else they sold their land, which they had enclosed, or which lay in others' territory, or which somewhere they had lent. And they did even so with all lands—the tribal lands, the cultivated lands, marshy lands, the dry and dusty lands, or the cut-over, cultivated fields upon which they worked.

auh in aoc tle itlacoaia, itech quicallaçaia in jtilmatzin, injc tlacoa, anoço quinamaca itlal, in quicaltzacuja, anoço canah temac motlalia, canah netlacujlli quichioa: auh injc quichioaia ipampa tlalli in quexquich quichioa in calpollali, yoan in chinamitl, in chiauhcalli, in tzultlalli, anoço ximmilli ie in ipan tequjtia:

And if one who could not bring forth the tribute

auh in aquje in amo coniecoaia tequitl, ic quica-

26. The meaning of the term *tolpole* may be taken as either lineage or impersonator. The context of this passage, in both the Nahuatl and Spanish versions, suggests the impersonator here: the image in the Mint House, whose the keeper of the god (*teohua*) looked the image; either he looked also the impersonator, or the latter looked himself. The impersonator then took up the image.

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therefore pledged the land, they made him leave it; they made him abandon it.

And when their fasting came to an end, much did they make merry. They bathed with water; they washed [their heads] with *amolli* soap.[25] And fruit was eaten—they made fruit *tamales*, and sauces. Or they slew and ate a dog, and they drank wine. Thus they showed that verily they were through with [their tribute]; that their works had fallen behind them.

For no longer a burden upon their backs was their fasting. [It was] as if [now] they could move briskly and with security; now they awoke [from their sleep] with joy and peace; they awoke tranquil. They had no offerings to make. In peace they might make their livings and find the means by which they might subsist either by fishing or in the *maguey* fields; or perchance they might frequent the market places in one town or another. No more did they live in bondage.

Enough.

25. See Fls. 3, 4.

osia in tlalli, ic quicaoaltiaia, ic quicacaoaltiaia:

[785 [423]]

suh in iquiac in tzonquiçaia in jneçaoaliz, cenca papaquja, maultiaia, mahamoviaia, yoan motocoquaiaia, quichioaia zocotamalli; yoan tlatonilli, anoço itzcuintli quimjctiaia qujquaia, yoan tlaoanaia, ic quinextiaia in ca oquimotlaxilique, imicampa ovetz, in jntequjuh,

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i ma iuhqui tlamamalli in neçaoalizth, in juhqui opouhtivetzque, ic paccá, iocuica oalça oalpaccaça soc tle qujmamana çan iria in motlaccoltia in quitemoa in cochcaiotl, in neuhcaiotl, anoço tlatlama, in anoço tlachiquj, in aço motitianquiz in ahoácan tepehoácan: soc tle qujiolitlacotiuh.

Je izquich.

[p. 10 is blank]

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874 793 into the forest, or on the desert, or into the water. A younger one, or whosoever wished, went perhaps half a league to place the spines. [The penitent] bore his shell trumpet and went blowing [it] where he placed the thorns. Wherever he came to be, he went blowing a trumpet.

[273] Sixth: When the priests slept, no two lay [together]. All lay quite separate. None were covered together.

Seventh: The food they prepared for themselves, [252] together; for it was their own food which they ate. And if anyone returned with food from his house, he ate it not alone.

Eighth: At midnight, when, as was said, night divided in half, everyone arose and prayed. If anyone failed to do so because he slept, if he did not awake, then, for this, all gathered together and drew blood from his ears, or his breast, or his thighs, or the calves of his legs. Because of this, fear verily fell [upon the people].

[273 836 688] Ninth: None then were proud; none then were unruly. All lived well ordered [lives]. If at times it appeared that one perhaps drank wine, or was given to women, or committed a great [fault], then they went to apprehend him. No mercy was shown. He was burned, or strangled, or cast into the fire alive or shot with arrows. And if he sinned only lightly, they drew blood from his ears, his flanks, or his thighs with maguey spines or with a [sharpened] bone.

Tenth: The small boys were so raised that if they did nothing of great evil, they then drew blood from their ears, or switched them with nettles.

Eleventh: At midnight the principal [priests] went down into the water and bathed there in the water.

[785] Twelfth: When it was a time of fasting, everyone observed it. Verily, [only] at the moment when midday arrived did indeed all eat—even the small boys. And when it was the fast which they name Atamalqualo, then they ate but sparingly.[2a] Some ate [only] at midnight and yet again went to eat at midnight; some ate at noon, and yet again went to eat at noon. No *chili*, no salt did they eat; neither, that they might sleep, [did they] even [drink] water. They said that the fast was broken if they ate or drank even a little.

Thirteenth: Very carefully were they taught good discourse. If one spoke not well, if one greeted others

vixtlalia, iteccin ietiuh, tlapixtiuh, in canj yn evixtlalisia, yn oncino vmpa oallapixtiuh.

Jnjc. 6. ynjc cochia tlamacazque, aiac vme temj, çan muchintin, mixcavitoque, aiac monepan tlaquentia.

Jnjc. 7. çan mocenchioaia in tlaqualli, in quiquaia, ca oncatca in janeuhia, in quiquaia. auh intla haca conmacaia ical itlaqual amo yioca conqua.

Jnjc. 8. in iocalnepantla in iquac mjtoa iocalli xellivi, muchi tlacatl mocoaia tlatlatlauhtiaia, yn aquin tlacochcaoa, yn amo hiça njman ica necentlalilo, quiçoçoia ynacaztiech, yielpan, ymetzpan, itlanitzco vel ica mavixtli vetzi.

Jnjc. 9. çã njmã aiac tlacuecuenoviaia, ça njman aiac mocuecuetzoaia, vellatecpanpa yn nemoaia, intla ça nen quenman necia aço vetli qui, aço cioanotza, in anoço itla vej quichica, njman qnitzacutivia, amo tlaoculiloia, tlecujlolo, anoço mecanilo, anoço tlecujlolo ioiolloc, anoço mimino, yn çan tepiton quitlacoa quiçoço yn inacazco, in jiomotla in imetzpa, vitztica, anoço omitica.

Jnjc. 10. in pipiltotonti ic oapaoallo, çan njman atle vel conitlacoa, njman quinçoço in inacazco, anoço quinzitzicazvia.

Jnjc. ii. in iocalnepãtla ahuetzmeoia in ie tachcaoa, atlã ômakiuia.

Jnjc. 12. yn iquac oncatca neçaoalitli, vel muchintin quipiaia, vel iquac yn oacic nepantla tonatiuh tlaquaia vel muchintin in pipiltotonti. auh in iquac oncatca neçaoalitli in quilhuja atamalqualo, njman amo tlapaloa, cequjntin iocalnepãtla in tlaquaia, oc no iocalnepãtla in tlaquatiuh cequjntin nepantla tonatiuh in tlaqua, oc no mumtla nepantla tonatiuh in tlaquatiuh, atle chilli atle iztal quiquaia, amo tle ic cochi in manel atl, quiaca moneçacalhujtequi intla itlaoan cõqua, conj.

Jnjc. 13. cenca vel nemachtilo[ia] in qualli tlatolli,

2a. "Hayuno, sc. ayuno de pan and pumpo, quelle manera" (Molina, op. cit.).

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heavy pall, or clouds of many colors—which were spread before his face.

Eclipse of the Sun

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When this came to pass, he turned red; he became restless and troubled. He faltered and became very yellow. Then there were a tumult and disorder. All were disquieted, unnerved, frightened. There was weeping. The common folk raised a cry, lifting their voices, making a great din, calling out, shrieking. There was shouting everywhere. People of light complexion[1] were slain [as sacrifices]; captives were killed. All offered their blood; they drew straws through the lobes of their ears, which had been pierced. And in all the temples there was the singing of fitting chants; there was an uproar; there were war cries. It was thus said: "If the eclipse of the sun is complete, it will be dark forever! The demons of darkness will come down; they will eat men!"

[785]

Tonatiuh qualo.

Jn iconac muchioa, y, chichiliubtimomana: soc tlaca manj, aoc tlaca ca, ca mocuecueptimanj: cēca tlacoçauia: niman ic tlatzomonj, tlacatl comonj: neacomanalo, necomonjlo, nemauhtilo, nechoquililo, tlachoquiztleoa in macecalti: netenujteco, netempapaujlo, tlacaoaca, tlacaoatzalo, tzatzioa: oiooalli moteca, Tlacaztalmicoa, malmicoa, neçoa tlacoquistilo: nenacazteco: auh in tetcupan, suuchcuico, tlachalantoc, tlacaoacatoc: ic mitoaia, intla tlamiz, in qualo tonatiuh: centlaiooaz: oaltemozque, in tzitzittimi, tequaquiui.

1. Tlamatzinco: cf., however, the corresponding passage in the Memorial con escolios (Appendix to this volume), where the phrase is translated "hombres de cabellos blancos y cano blancos."

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Third Chapter, which telleth of the stars.

The Fire Drill[1]

When [these] appeared and set forth, incense was offered and burned. Thus was it said when Yoaltecutli [and] Yacauitztli had come forth: "What will the night bring? How will the day break?"

And these were offered incense. Three times was it done: when night fell—well into the night; and when it was time to sleep—the time when the flutes were blown.[6] When this [took place], this was the time for offering their blood and offering maguey spines stained with blood. The third time incense was offered was when it dawned, when the morning broke, when the earth was visible—when morning was near.

And hence was it said that they resembled the fire drill: because when fire was drawn with a drill, and the drill bored, thus fell, ignited, and flared the fire.

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And also for this reason all burned [spots on] their wrists; for this reason were we men burned on the wrists, to show awe of him. He was feared and dreaded. It was said and considered of any whose wrists were not burned that on his wrists fire would be drilled in the land of the dead, when he died. Therefore we men—every one—were burned on the wrists. On both sides of each wrist they arranged in order, in rows, the wrist burns. Thus they represented the fire drill. In the same manner as [the stars] were arranged in order and in line, so also they placed in order, in rows, their burns on their wrists.

[The Morning Star or Great Star]

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Of the morning star, the great star, it was said that when first it emerged and came forth, four times it vanished and disappeared quickly. And afterwards it burst forth completely, took its place in full light,

Inic ey capitulo, intechpa tlatoa: in cicitlaltin.

Mamalhoaztli.

In icoac oalneci, oalmotema: tlenamacoia, tlatotoniloia: ic mitoaia, ooaluetz in iooaltecutli, in iacauiztli: quen uetziz in iooalli, quen tlathuiz.

Auh in hin tlenamacoia, espa in tlachioaia: icoac in tlapoioaoa, tlaquauh tlapoioaoa, yoan netetequizpan, tlatlapitzalizpa. Icoac, y, neçoaia, neuitzmanaloia: ic espa tlenamacoia, icoac in tlauizcaleoa, tlauizcalli moquetza: in tlatlalchipaoa, in ie tlathuinaoac.

Auh inic mitoa, mamalhoaztli, itech moneneuilia in tlequauitl: ichica, in icoac tlequauhtlazo, ca momamali in tlequauitl: inic uetzi, inic xotla, inic mopitza tletl.

No youn, inic nematlatiloia: inic momatlatiaia toquichtin, ichoatl quimacacia, mjmacacia imacaxoia, mjtoaia: quilmach in aquin amo nematlatile, imac tlequauhtlazoz in mjctlan, in icoac omjc. Ichica in toquichtin, muchi tlacatl momatlatiaia, nenecoc inmac quiuiujpanaia, quitetecpanaia in innematlatil: ic quitlaichecalhuiaia in mamalhoaztli: in iuh vipantoc, tecpantoc, no iuh quiuiuipanaia, quitetecpanaia in immac innematlatil.

Citlalpol, vei citlalin mitoa: in icoac iancuican oalcholoa, oalquiça, nappan poliui, popoliuhtiuetzi: auh çatepã uel cueponj, cuepontimotlalia, tlanesitica: iuhquin metztona ic tlanestia.

7. The names of various constellations and stars may or may not correspond to the names by which they are now known. In the Spanish text and in the Mexicanidor one cardinal, however, Sahagún on most them with the terminology current in his times. See also Plates 1-7, 21.

8. *Tlalquiltzalizpan*: cf. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble: *Florentine Codex*, Book II, *The Ceremonies* (Santa Fe: School of American Research, Monograph No. 14, Part III, and University of Utah, 1951), p. 192; also Sisdon, *op. cit.*; Guilloy, *op. cit.*, p. 252. The ceremony called for use of flutes or trumpets, according to Sisdon; of flutes, according to Guilloy. Sources vary as to the exact time when these were blown.

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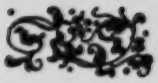

Fifth Chapter, which telleth of the clouds.

Ic macuilli capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: in mistli.

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The Lord of Thlocan

Thlocã tecutli,

He was considered a god. To him were attributed rain and water. Thus they said he made that which we ate and drank—food, drink, our sustenance, our nourishment, our daily bread, our maintenance. All that which grew in the summer he made—sprouts, fresh green sprouts, trees, amaranth, *chía*, squash, beans; the maguey, the tuna cactus; and still others, not edible—flowers, grasses.

Teutl ipan machoia, itech tlamiloia, in quiauitl, in atl: iuh quitoaia, ie quichioa in ticooa, in tiqui, in qualoni, in joani, in tonenca, in toiolca, in tocochca, in tonzuhca, in tocemilhuitiaia, in tonacaiotl: in ie iquich zopaniotl, in itzmolintoc, in celiztoc, in quauitl, in ouhtli, in chian, in aiotetl, in etl, in metl, in nopalli: yoan in oc cequi, in amo qualoni, in xuchitl, in xiuitl.

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And when his feast was observed, first there was fasting for four days. The priests fasted in honor of Thlaloc in what was called the priests' house, where they had matured and grown.

Auh in icoac ilhuiquistililoia: achtopa nauilhuitl moçaoaia, motlalocaçaoaia in tlamacazque: in motenco calmecac mocapaoa, mocalchia.

When the fourth day had passed, when the fasting had ended, when the feast had been completed, [the evildoers] were plunged and submerged repeatedly in the lake. Not soft, not gentle was the punishment. They were plunged and immersed repeatedly in the water. They ill-used only those of their own kind. They dragged [the victim] back and forth through the mud. They plunged him under the water and dragged him; they went pulling him along by the hair; they kicked him. [As] he swam under the water, churning, beating, and swirling it up as he went, he escaped the hands of the priests.

In icoac oncic nauilhuitl, in ie nenalcu, in ie ilhuitl muchioa: matlampapachoaia, mopopolactiaia in uei apan: amo iuiian, amo motlamachuja, in atlan onmotzotzopontirlaça, onmotzotzopontimaisui: çan monetechuja, vncan çoquititlan quinemjtia, quipopoloctia, quiuiuilana: icpac cantinemi, quititiliça, atlã tlatzotzopoztinemj, aiotzotztinemi, tlamomoloztinemi: inmac mouiuitlatinemi, in tlamacazque,

When a fault had been committed in the priests' house, or some error had been done—even though someone had only stumbled, or tripped over something, at once, for this, they laid hold of him. Because of it they shut him in as their captive, no more taking their eyes from him, that they might plunge him in the water.

in otlatlaco, in calmecac itlã oncholo: intlanel çan aca ẽmotepotlami, itlã econicxixopeuh, oc uel ic conacique, ie ic inmal ça quipipia, aocmo conjscaoa, inic catlampapachonque.

And to excess did they set upon him. Greatly did they afflict and torment him. He lay half dead, breathing his last, gasping, in his last agonies; at death's door [was he] whom they finally cast on the shore. No one could plead his cause. From thence [the victims'] fathers and mothers took them. And if anyone felt apprehension or foreboding for his son, in order that [the priests] should not plunge him into the

Auh amo çan quenjn quipolos: uel quicocoltia, quellelauiltia, ça quen quimattoc, ça mopopoçaultoc, ça içomocatoc, ça micqui in quiualmaisui atenco: aiac uel ipan tlatoa, vncan quimonana in intahoan, in inmahoan. Auh in aquin quitlamauhcaitilia, in quitlotlamachilia ipiltzin, inic amo catlampapachonque: conquistaia itlatzin quinmacaia in tlamacazque, aço totolin, aço tlaqualli: ic quicaoaia.

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water, in order that they should let him go, he offered the priests something of value—either a turkey or food. In return for it they let [his son] be.

And when this came to pass, everywhere, in the houses of all, in each house, *etz·tli*[9] was eaten. Each one made *etzalli* for himself; and there was a dance in which *etzalli* was begged. With green maize stalks they danced. Those who danced the *etzalli* dance entered house after house, each one begging and asking. [The householders] offered them all this same *etzalli*, [placing it] in the small jars, the *etzalli* jars, which they bore in their hands.

These [gods] were called Tlaloc. To them were attributed clouds, rain, hail, snow, mist, sheet lightning, thunder, and lightning bolts which struck men.

The Rainbow

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As if arched—bent and rounded—it thus appeared. Varicolored, many-hued was its appearance. The single colors which showed in it [were] green, dark green, blue green, and black; and yellow and orange or tawny; then vermillion and ruby red; and [various shades of] blue, and dark green.[10]

And they said that when it appeared it revealed, made evident to men, and denoted—whereby it was known, realized, and seen—that it would not rain; would not rain hard—would not pour. But it would break up the clouds. It would dissipate, impede, and quiet the rain—the downpour which wet, soaked, and drenched one. If clouds piled up, if heavy clouds blackened [the sky] so that everywhere it was dark, it only dissipated [them]. Although it rained, no longer was the rain heavy; no longer did it increase. It only sprinkled; it drizzled; a few drops fell; a haze, a fog, a thin mist drifted and fell. Or at most it sprinkled; the sprinkling and the spray continued.

And they said—it was averred—[that] if it appeared over maguey plants, because of it the green [leaves] yellowed, turned, dried, reddened, and withered. And also they said [that] when it appeared many times, thereby it was evident [that] the rains were to end forthwith. They said: "Soon the masters of the rain will go; already the Tlaloc are about to leave."

Auh in iconc, y, in notiian techachan, in cecencalpan etzalqualoia: cecciaca metzalhuiaia, yoan etzalmaceoaloia: cintopiltica mitotia, tepan cacalaqui, motlatlaeuia, motlatlaitlanja, in etzalmaceuhque: çan muche in etzalli quinmaca, inxoxochuicol, imeetlalcon intlan caana.

In iehoantin, y, moteneoa tlaloque: intech tlamiloia in mistli, in quiauitl, in teciutl, in cēpaiauitl, in aiauitl, in tlapetlaniliztli, in tlatlatziniliztli, in teuitequilizli.

Ainuiicoçamalol.

Iubquin uitoluhqui: tlauitoltic, coltic, inic oalmoquetza, tlatlatlapalpoalli, motlatlapalpouh in itlachieliz. In centlamantli tlapalli, itech neci: xoxoctic, quiltic, quilpaltic, iiapaltic, quilpalli, iiapalli: yoan coztic, xopaltic, xochipalli: niman ie chichiltic, tlapaltic: yoā tlaztaleoaltic, tlaztaleoalli: yoan texōtic, texōli, matlaltic, matlalli.

Auh quitoa, in iconc oalmoquetza: quinextia, quiteittina, quinencauitia, ic macho, ic machizti, ic into: in amo quiauiz, amo tlaciquiauiz, amo tilaoaz: çan quimonoiaoaz in mistli, quipopoloa, quelictia, quiiacatzacuilia in quiiauitl, in tlaciquiiauitl: in tepaltili, in techacnani, in teçoquitili. Intla cenca omotlatlali mistli, in ouel cuicuicheoac, in onouiian tlatlaiooac: çan quipepopoloa. Intlanel quiaui, aocmo cenca tilaoa, aocmo molluia: ça aoachquiaui, aoachtli in onuciuetzi, in onchichipini: aoachpitzactli, aoachpicilli, aoachpicilotoa, in ontzitzicuini in onuciuetzi: aneçe çan aoachtilaoa, aoachtilaocotimani, aoachtzetzeliuhcimani.

Auh quitoa, quilnach intla metl, ipan moquetza: ic macuepalicini, macoçauia, macuspi, machichiliui, motlatlauia, macuetlauia. No yoan quitoa, in iconc miecpa oalmoquetza: ic neci, çan cuel quiçaz, in quiiauitl: quitoaia, çan cuel iazque in aoaque, ie quiçanque in tlaloque.

9. Bandelier: cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 79.

10. Sahagún (*Memoriales con escolios*) has green for *xoxoctic*, *coltic*, *quilpaltic*, *iiapaltic*, *quilpalli*, and *iiapalli*. Alonso de Molina, in his *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (Julio Platzmann, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880), gives blue-green for *quilpaltic* and brown or black for *iiapaltic*. The second occurrence of this latter and of *quilpalli* is omitted in this translation. Molina translates *macuepalicini* as ruddy or rose-colored. In *Memoriales con escolios*, Sahagún seems both *chichiltic* and *iiapaltic* as red. For *chamolocatic*, Molina has red or rose-colored. For *matlalli* and *matlalli*, the *Memoriales* has blue.

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sleep—it was thought—they would turn into mice; they would become mice.

Hence was heed paid only one thing; there was unwavering attention and expectation as all remained facing, with neck craned, the summit of Uixachtecatl. Everyone was apprehensive, waiting until, in time, the new fire might be drawn—until, in good time, [a flame] would burst forth and shine out. And when a little came forth, when it took fire, lit, and blazed, then it flared and burst into flames, and was visible everywhere. It was seen from afar.

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Then all the people quickly cut their ears, and spattered the blood repeatedly toward the fire. Although [a child] still lay in the cradle, they also cut his ears, took his blood, and spattered it [toward] the fire. Thus, it was said, everyone performed a penance.

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Then [the priests] slashed open [the captive's] breast. In his breast [cavity] the new fire was drawn. They opened the breast of the captive with a flint knife called *itzcuauac*. Etc.

Ic ça miscauja, mocemmati in ontlachielotoc, in onitztotoc, in ōnequechanotoc, uixachtecatl iicpac: iquich tlacatl vmpa ontlatemmati, ōmotemachia, in quēmanja uetzi tlequauitl, in quēmania oalcueponi, oalpetzini. Auh in iconac, oquenteltzin vel uetz, in omopitz, in oxotlac: çatepan ic cuetlani, cueponi, nouiian ōneci, oalitto in vēca.

Niman ic muchi tlacatl monacaztectiuetzi, contlatzitzicuinilia iquichcapa in tletl: in manel coçolco onoc no connacaztequi, concuilia iniezço, contzitzicuinilia in tletl: ic mitoa, ca muchi tlacatl tlamaceoa,

ic coneltetequi, in jelpan ontlequauhtlaxtoc, conelcoionja in malli, ica tecpatl: itoca iquauac. etc.*

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Twelfth Chapter, in which is told [the manner of conduct of] all the people when the new fire was taken. And, when this took place, everyone renewed his clothing and all the household goods.

Then, at this time, all renewed their household goods, the men's array, and the women's array, the mats—the mats of large, fat reeds,—and the seats. All was new which was spread about, as well as the hearth stones and the pestles. Also at this time [the men] were newly dressed and wrapped in capes. A woman—[such as she] dressed newly in their new skirts and shifts.

Thus it was said that truly the year newly started. There was much happiness and rejoicing. And they said: "For thus it is ended; thus sickness and famine have left us." Then incense was offered; [quail] were decapitated, and incense was offered. They grasped this incense ladle, and raised it in dedication to the four directions in the courtyard. Then they cast it into the hearth. Thus was incense offered.

Thereupon amaranth seed cakes overspread with honey were eaten. Then all were bidden to fast, and [it was ordered] that no one should drink from the time that it was completely light until it came to be considered midday. And when noon came, then captives and ceremonially bathed ones died. Then all rejoiced and there was feasting. Then once again fires were newly laid and placed.

And [as for] the pregnant women, who had been feared, if any of them then gave birth to and bore a child; if a boy was born as her child, they named him Mixcōātl, Xiuhtēcutli, Xiuhtzitzqui, Xiuhtli, Tōxiuh, Xiuhtōtōtec, Quetzalxiuh, Xiuhquen, etc. And if [it was] a girl, Xiuhnenetl, Xiuhcue, Xiuhcoyōl, etc.

And when, in the time of Moctezuma, our years were heard, he ordered that indeed everywhere should be sought a captive whose name [contained the word] xiuitl. Wheresoever [he was], this one was to be seized. And one was taken—a man from Uexotzinco, a well-born man. He was called Xiuhtlamin,

Īnīc matlactlomome, capitulo, vncan mitoa: in quenin in īquich tlacatl, in īcnoc omocuic in iancuic tlatl: auh in īcnoc, y, mochi tlacatl, quiiácuilōa in itlaquen, yoan in īquich calitlaquitl.

Niman īcnoc, īquich iancuiia, in calitlaquitl: . oquichtlaquitl, in cioatlaquitl, in petlatl, in tolcuetlī, in icpalli: mochi iancuic in motenca, īoā in tenamastli, in tzolotl. No īquac iancuic nequentilo, netlpililo in tilmatli: in cioatl, iancuic onmaquia, in incue, in inuipil.

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Ic mitoa, ca nel iancuic cxpetoa in xiuitl: papacoa, netlamachtilo: yoan quitoaia, ca ic oquiz, ic oncchtlalcaui in cocoliztli, in maianaliztli. Niman ic cocopaltemalo, tlacotonalo, tlenamaco: concui in tlemaitl, nauhcampa coniioca in ithoalco, çaepan contema tlexīco, inic otlenamacoc copalli:

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nimā ie ic nocpan tzocuocalqualo, vncan ic neçaoliztlalhuilo, inic aiac atlix, ic ocnēlhuiz: quinocnomattiuiia in nepantla tonatiuh. Auh in oacic, nepantla tonatiuh, niman ic miqui in mamalti, yoan tlaltlitl: quinicoc cenpapacoa, tlātlaqualo: īcnoc oc ceppa iácuican netlāhuecuilōlo, netlāhuecuillalilo.

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Auh in oimacazoia oczti, īntla aca īcnoc omixiuh, otlacachiuh: īntla oquichtli īcnocuh odlacat, quinocaiciuia molpili, xiuhtlalpil, xiuhtzitzqui, xiuhtli, tōxiuh, xiuhtotec, quetzalxiuh, xiuhquen. Etc.° Auh īntla cioatl, xiuhnenetl, xiuhcue, xiuhcoyōl. Etc.°

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Auh in īcnoc, ipan mochiuh motecuçoma, tzniuhmolpili omoca nouiian ic tlanocuti, inic temoloc malli: in īnoca xiuitl, in çaço campa itl mitoa. Auh ce axiuac tecpantzincatl, tlaqualli: īnoca xiuhtlamin, tlatlahco malli mochiuh: in tlamanj īnoca itocuin, auh ic tecuiotiloc, ic nocuiloc xiuhtlamimanani: ca ihcuel

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THE SEVENTH BOOK TREATETH OF THE SUN, MOON, AND STARS, AND OF THE YEAR OF JUBILEE

EL 7.º LIBRO TRATA DEL SOL Y DE LUNA Y ESTRELLAS Y DEL AÑO DEL JUBILEO.[19]

First Chapter, of the sun.

821 The sun hath the quality of shining and of lighting and of casting rays from himself. He is hot and he scareth; he maketh one sweat, and turneth a man's body and face dark brown or tawny.

El sol tiene propriedad de resplandecer y de alumbrar y de echar rayos de sí. Es caliente y tuesta, hase sudar pa hosco o loro el cuerpo y la cara de la persona.

821 785 782 They celebrated a feast to the sun once each year in the sign named Four Olin. And before the feast they fasted four days as the vigil of the feast. And in this feast of the sun, four times they offered incense and blood from the ears—once at sunrise, another time at midday, at the vesper hour, and when [the sun had] set.

Hazian fiesta al sol vna vez cada año en el signo que se llama 4. olin. Y antes de la fiesta ayunavan quatro dias como vigilia de la fiesta. Y en esta fiesta del sol ofrecian encienso y sãgre de las orejas quatro vezes: vna en saliendo el sol, otra al medio dia, y a la hora de visperas y qñ se ponia.

Ytzcaliui. t. itzcaliuhtica in noyollo: My heart is calmed, or resteth, in love. Pret., oitzcaliuh. oitzcaliuhticatca.

II.
ytzcaliui. t. itzcaliuhtica yn noyollo. refriarse o declino mi coraçon en el amor. ꝑt.º oitzcaliuh. oitzcaliuhticatca.

Vel cen tecomatl in atl ocontzinouh: A whole gourd[ful of water] was overturned while being drunk.

34.
Vel cen tecomatl ỹ atl ocontzinouh. trastornose vna xicara ỗera beuiẽdola.

19. Sahagún (Paso y Troncoso ed.), Vol. VII, pp. 177-215.

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821 And when he came forth in the morning, they said: "Now the sun starteth his work. How will it be? What will come to pass on this day?"

And at sunset they said: "The sun hath ended his work, or task." Sometimes when the sun riseth, he seemeth blood-colored; and at times whitish; and sometimes he riseth sickly-hued because of the mist or the clouds which cover him.

Y quando a la mañana salía dezian ya comiença el sol su obra que será, que acontecerá é este día.

Y a la puesta del sol, dezian acabo su obra, o su tarea el sol. A las vezes qñ sale el sol pareçe de color de sangre: y a las vezes parece blanquezino: y a las vezes sale de color enfermizo por razon de las nieblas o de las nubes que se le aficionó.

When the sun is eclipsed, he turneth red; it seemeth that the sun becometh disquieted, or troubled; or he moveth to and fro, or he stirreth. And he turneth very yellow.

Quando se eclipsa el sol parase colorado parécz que se desasiega o se turba el sol, o se remueçe, o rebuelue y amarillecese mucho.

821 When the people see this, they then raise a tumult.
● 785 And a great fear taketh them, and then the women
782 weep aloud. And the men cry out, [at the same time] striking their mouths with [the palms of] their hands. And everywhere great shouts and cries and howls were raised. And then they burned our men of fair hair and white faces; and they sacrificed them to the sun. And also they sacrificed captives, and they anointed themselves with the blood of their [own] ears. And, besides, they bored [the lobes of]

Quando esto ver la gente luego se alborota.
Y tomalos gran temor, y luego las mugeres lloran a voses. Y los hombres dan grita hiriendo las bocas con la mano. Y en todas pres se dasi grandes bozes y gritos, y alaridos. Y luego buscavan los hombres de cabellos blancos y caras blácas: y los sacrificavan al sol. Y también sacrificavan captivos y se vntavā con la sangre de las orejas: y también agujeravan las orejas con puntas de magueí y ponian ninbres o cosa semejante por los agujeros q̄ las puntas avian

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their ears with maguey spines and passed flexible twigs or the like through the holes which the spines had made. And then, in all the temples, they sang and sounded [musical instruments], making a great din. And they said: "If the sun becometh completely eclipsed, nevermore will he give light; eternal darkness will fall, and the demons will come down. They will come to eat us!"

hecho. Y luego por todos los templos cantauan y tañian haziendo gran ruido. Y dezian si del todo se acaba de eclipsar el sol nunca mas alumbrara ponerse han perpetuas tinieblas y descenderan los demonios vendran nos a comer.

Second Chapter.

821

When the moon newly appeareth, he seemeth like a thin, little curve of wire. He doth not yet shine. By little and little he goeth growing. On the fifteenth day he is full. And when now he is full, he cometh forth in the east at sunset. He seemeth like a great millstone—very round and very red. And as he goeth rising, he becometh white or shining. [There is what] looketh like a rabbit in the middle of him. And if there are no clouds he shineth almost like the

Capitvlo Segvndo

Quando la luna nuevamẽte nace, parece como vn arquito de alambre delgado aun no resplandece: poco a poco va creciendo. A los quinze dias es llena. Y qñ ya es llena sale por el oriente a la puesta del sol: parece como vna rueda de molino grande muy redonda y muy colorada. Y qñ va subiendo se para blanca o resplandeciente: parece como vn conejo en medio della. Y si no ay nubes resplandece casi como el sol, casi como de dia. Y d'spues de llena cõpli-

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black sleeveless jacket, and his tobacco gourd with black tassels, and they put on them their white foam sandals.[6] Then they veiled and covered their faces, each one of them, with black fasting capes designed with bones. And they gave them cotton incense bags, black and designed with bones, which they filled with incense. And their incense ladles were filled with live coals. Then also they took up each one of them; the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, went taking them in their midst, in order to have them go up above to [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. Then each one took incense; each one filled his incense ladle, which went full of live coals, and raised the incense ladle before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli and perfumed it.

tlíltic in jmama, ioan quimaaqujlia impocolcac iztac: njman ic quimontlapachoa, quimonizquimjloa, cecenme, ica neçaoalquachtli, tlíltic omjcallo, ioan quiçaoamaca icpaxiquipilli, tlíltic omjcallo, in vncan temj copalli, ioan intlema tlexochtli ontentiuh: njman ic no quintlecauja cecenme, quintlacoaantiuj in teupixque papaoaque, injc quintlecauja iicpac vitzilopuchtli, injc cecenme concuj in copalli, contema in jntlemaco, in vncan tentiuh tlexochtli, cacocuj in tlemaitl in jixpã vitzilopuchtli quipopochuja.

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SECOND PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how those chosen did penance there in the temple and came not forth for four days.

And when this was done, and they had offered incense and spread a fragrance before Uitzilopochtli, then they brought down the ruler, the lord of men; he went covered with the green fasting cape with a design of bones. Then they also brought down each one of the lords. They went quite slowly in order; they went with faces veiled, each one, with the fasting cape with the bone design.

The keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, went taking them in their midst. They took [the ruler and] they escorted[7] [the lords] there to the house of fasting, a place named Tlacochcalco, or Tlacatecco, the house of Uitzilopochtli. There they fasted and did penance for four days. Nowhere went they forth; they only remained seated. When it was already midday, then the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, also went; the ruler and the lords in the Tlacatecco, who fasted there, they seized—they went taking them in their midst. They went with faces veiled in fasting capes; in the hands of each one went his incense ladle, and each one went taking with him his cotton bag filled with incense. Slowly and in order they went to take them up, above to [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, to offer incense, to spread a fragrance before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli. In the same way they came down; they came in order; they came with faces veiled in fasting capes designed with bones. Then was the time

INJC VME PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, in quenjn tlamaçeoaia in tlapepenalti, in vmpa teupan: auh amo oukquiçaia nauilhuitl.

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Auh in ie iuhquj otlenamacaque, otlapopochujque iixpan vitzilopuchtli: njman ic quioaltemouja in tlatoanj, tlacatecutli, tlapachiuhtiuh in jca neçaoalquachtli omjcallo xoxoctic: njman ic no ceceiaca quioaltemouja, in tecutlatoque, çan jujian tecpantiuj, ic ixtlapachiuhtiuj, ceceiaca in jca neçaoalquachtli omjcallo.

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quintlacoaantiuj in teupixque papaoaque, quiujca quimonuica in neçaoalcalli, itocaiocan tlacochcalco, ioan tlacatecco, in jchan vitzilopuchtli: in vncan tlamaçeoaia moçaoaia nauilhuitl, amo campa quiça, çan cheoxicate; in jcoac ie nepantla tonatiuh, njman ic no ohuj in teupixque papaoaque: in vncan tlacatecco, in vncã moçaoaia tlatoanj, ioan tecutlatoque, quimonana, quintlacoaantiuj ixquimjlhuhtiuj, in jca neçaoalquachtli, inmac onotiuh in jntlema icecenme, ioan itlan cantiuh ceceiaca in jicpaxiquipil, in vncan tentiuh copalli, çan jujian tecpantiuj, in quintlecauja in jcpac vitzilopuchtli, inic ontlapopochhuja ixpan vitzilopuchtli: çan no iuj injc oalteno tecpanxiujtze, ixtlapachiuhtiujtze, in jca neçaoalquachtli omjcallo: quinjcoac tlaqua in tlatoanj, ioã tecutlatoque ça ceppa in tlaqua cemjlhuitl.

6. *Zapatillas blancas de espuma.*
7. *The Real Academia de la Historia MS has quitecuanque for quimonija.*

643 644 that the ruler and the lords ate; only once a day did they eat.

783 785 And at night, when midnight arrived, the ruler and the lords arose, covered with the fasting capes. And they took up their incense ladles and cotton bags filled with incense, and magucy spines; and they were shod in their foam sandals. And these keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, took them in their midst—they took them above, to [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, to offer blood at midnight. And they offered incense; there they cast incense before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli.

In the same manner they came down. They went in order. The keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, took them in their midst, with their faces veiled in fasting capes designed with bones. When they had descended, then they went to bathe—the ruler and the lords. Thus did they do penance at night.

For four days they fasted, with faces veiled in fasting capes. And for as many days, at noon, they offered incense before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli. Likewise, for as many nights, at midnight, they offered incense and made blood offerings before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli, and they bathed themselves.

Auh iioaltica, in jcnac ioalnepantla oaçic, meoa in tlatoanj, ioan in tecutlatoque, ic ommotlapachoa in neçaoalquachtli: ioan cencuj in jntlema ioan icpaxiquipilli in vncan temj copalli, ioan vitztli, ioan conmocactia in jmpoçolcac: auh in ichoantin teupixque papaoaque, quintlacoaantiuj, in qujujca, icpac vitzilopuchtli, injc ommjço iooalnepantla, ioan ontlenamaca oncopaltema, in jxpan vitzilopuchtli.

çan no iuj oaltemo tecpantiujtze, qujntlacoaana in teupixque papaoaque, ic ixtlapachiuhtiuj in neçaoalquachtli omjcallo, in ooaltemoque, njman ic huj in maltizque, in tlatoanj, ioã tecutlatoque, injc iooaltica tlamaceoaia,

naujlhujtl in moçaoaia ic ixqujmjliubticatca in neçaoalquachtli, auh izqujlhujtl in nepãtla tonatiuh, in ontlenamacaia ixpan vitzilopuchtli: çan no izqujioal, in ioalnepantla tlenamacaia, ioan onmjçoa in jxpan vitzilopuchtli, ioan maltiaia.

THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which it is related how they ended the penance, and took the ruler to the courtyard of the palace; and the others they took to their homes.

And after this, when the four days and four nights were ended during which the ruler and lords had fasted and done penance—at that time the ruler came forth, that they might escort him there to the great palace, the ruler's residence. And also at that time the lords entered their homes.

[777] And when this had come to pass, then the ruler chose a propitious day on which the ruler's feast might be observed. He commanded all the majordomos to accord others and give them all capes, and costly devices, and shields.

INJC EY PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa, in quenjn qujtzonquixtiaia tlamaçeoaliztli, ioan qujujcaia in tlatoanj, in tecpan itoalco: ioã in oc cequjntin qujnujcaia in jnchan.

Auh in ic iuhquj in otzonqujz naujlhujtl, ioan nauhioal, in oonmoçauh, in ontlamaçeuh tlatoanj, ioan tecutlatoque, qujnjcoac qujça in tlatoanj, injc concaoa in vmpa vei tecpan tlatocan. Auh in tecutlatoque, qujn no icoac calaquj jn jnchan.

Auh in ic iuhquj: njman ic qujpepena in tlatoanj, in qualli tonalli, in jpan motlatocapacaz, qujnnaoatia, in jxqujchtin calpixque, in jxqujch tilmatli, ioan tlaçotlanquj tlaujztli, ioan chimalli, in qujtetlauhtiz, in qujtemacaz.

643 527 648 FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how the ruler made summons to a feast.

Then he bade to a feast those from every city. He asked to the banquet the ruler of Michoacan, and the ruler of Cuextlan, and the ruler of Metztitlan, and the lords of the Totonac country, and the lords of Tlaxcala, and the ruler of Cholula, and the lords

INJC NAUJ PARRAPHO, vncan mjtoa, in quenjn qujchioaia tecoanotzaliztli, in ichoatl tlatoanj.

Niman ic tecoanotza, in noujian altepetl ipan, qujcoanotza in mjchoacan tlatoanj, ioan cuextlan tlatoanj, ioan metztitlan tlatoanj, ioan totonacapan tlatoque, ioan tlaxcallan tlatoque, ioan cholollan tlatoanj, ioan uexotzinco tlatoque, ioan tenjtla tla-

6: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Appendix A

Continuation of the Fourth Paragraph, Chapter Fourteen[1]

In the priests' house of Mexico, there were established and congregated all the keepers of the gods, the fire priests, and [other] priests, the city's devout ones. There they waited [lest] perchance the ruler might require something—perhaps inquire about something, mayhap of something they had seen in all the places where debts [of sacrifice] had been paid upon the mountains and upon the water; there where, afar, were the small pyramids where each night they performed penances.

For these who were fire priests and other priests, when they came forth well into the night, and when, as was said, the shell trumpets were newly blown, first drew their blood before the devil, with thorns, the spines of the maguey; then each one separately set forth, going quite naked. They went [out] having put about them only their pouches with cords,[2] which went filled with dyed, powdered tobacco—this tobacco mixed with a black [dye]—which they chewed as they went. And one proceeded taking with him an incense ladle in which fire went enclosed; and a small cotton bag in which was incense; and pine wood; and he carried his fir branches in his arms, as well as his spines covered with blood, and a shell as his trumpet. And even though it rained hard or was freezing, just so he went.

When he reached whatsoever mountain he was to perform his due upon, then and there he paid his debt [of sacrifice]. He offered incense; he spread out his fir boughs, his bloodied maguey spines. He listened for the time when trumpets were to be sounded in Mexico, at midnight. And when the trumpets had been sounded in Mexico at midnight, then the priests, they who did penance, blew trumpets everywhere there upon the mountains where they paid their debts. Then they turned back, sounding trumpets as they went, in the dawn, when they again entered the priests' house.

Calmecac, mexico, vncan tecpanoaya, vncan mocenquixtiaya in ixquichtin teupixque yn tlenamacaque, yn tlamacazque yn itlamaceuhcauan catca altepetl, conchiaya yn ẏẏo itla ic quintemoz tlatoani, aço itla ic tlatlaniz, aço itla quitta yn ompa yzquican omoxtlauha yn tepeticpac, yoũ atlan, yoan yn ompa veca caca momoztli, yceceyoual yc tlamaceua. 346 793

Ca y iehoanti tlenamacaque, tlamacazque catca yquac quiçaya yn tlaquaxuh tlapoyaua, ỹ mitoaya yancujcan tlatlapitzalo, achto miçoya in ixpan tlacatecolotl yca vitztli, ỹ metl yuitzo, niman ceceyaca quiçaya, çan petlauhtiuja, çan ixquich onactiuia yn intoxi yntlamecayouh vncan tentiuh yaqualli ychoctl im piçietl tlanelolli thilli yn quiquatiuja, yoan quitquitiuia tlemaitl tzacuhtiuh vnca yetiuh tletl, yoũ xiquipiltontli yc icatiuh copalli, yoũ ocotl, yeũ quiçiacauia yn iacxoyauh, yoan in iuitz yeheço, yoan tecucirtli yn itlapitzal ỹ manel cenca quiauiz, anoço ceuetziz yuhca viya. 793 [705] [281] [276 415] [534]

yn iquac yn oacic campa tepetitech tlamatiuh nimã yc vncã moztlaua, tlenamaca, contema yn iacxoyauh, yn iuitz yeheço, quiualcaqui in queman tlapitzaloz mexico y youalnepantla, auh yn otlapitzaloc mexico youalnepantla, nimã yc nouian tlapitza yn tlamacazque yn tlamaceuhque yn ompa tepetitech in campa omoxtlaua, niman valmocuepa tlatlapitztiuitze ye tlatuinauac, y ualcalaqui calmecac. 796 783 [534]

1. See note 11, Chapter 14.

2. Leonhard Schultze Jena, in *Gliederung der Alt-Azteckischen Volks in Familie, Stand und Beruf* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1952), p. 330, says of the form *ezuel*: "*Da es von Tezcatlipoca hergeleitet wird, das den Copalbeutel trägt, wird es sich um Priester handeln.*" The translation he translates (*ibid.*, p. 161), "*schleicht sie und zieht Schnur.*"

with eagle down — with tufts of feathers. It was called xiuhuelli. And the shield banner was painted like the blood banner. And his four arrows he held together with his shield. And his left arm band was hanging from his arm; it was composed of [strips of] coyote fur, and from it hung paper cut in strips.

And when dawn broke, when it was now the feast day, early in the morning, then those who had made vows before him unwrapped him. Before him they stood in one row and offered him incense; before him they laid all manner of gifts — feast foods, rolls of amaranth seed dough. And this was when they had not yet taken him up and elevated him to Itepeyac. And all the men, the young, seasoned warriors, were as if determined and eager to proceed with and observe the feast, and thus show, exhibit proudly, and demonstrate it to the Spaniards.

All hastened and ran, as they made their way toward the temple courtyard, in order there to dance the winding dance. And when all had assembled, then the start was made; then began the chanting and the winding dance. And those who had fasted twenty days, and[2] those who had fasted a year, stood aside facing the others. Those who hemmed in [the dancers had][1] their pine cudgels; whosoever tried to leave [the dance] they menaced with the pine cudgels. But one who would [leave to] urinate took off his net cape and his forked heron feather ornament. But one who did not at once obey, who would not be excluded, or who was mischievous, they soundly beat his back therefor, [or] his thighs, [or] his shoulders, and thrust him outside. They cast him out by force; they threw him on his face — he went falling on his face; he fell forth on his ear. No one in their hold took his leave.

The elder brothers of Uitzilopochtli — those who had fasted for a year — were much feared, looked upon with terror and awe, and dreaded. And those at the head, the great leaders, the participants, might leave. They did not detain them. Yet all the small boys, those with the lock of hair at the back of the head, with the back lock of hair, and those with the jar-shaped hair dress — they who had taken a captive with others' help, — the leaders, those called leaders of young men, who were unmarried, who had gone [to war] to take one or two [captives], they also held away. They said to them: "Go along there, knaves! You shall give a good example! Appear not before us!"

1. Text is repeated in the MS.

Auh in otlatic in ie ilhujuh ipan, in inatzinco ie ic quixtlapoa in jvic mocetoltia, ixpan oncenpanti quitlenamaquilia, ixpan qujmana in itzqujcan ventli in tlacatlaqualli, in tzoalilacatzolli. Auh in jquac in, aocmo quitlecavique, aocmo cacoquixtique in itepeioc: auh in itzquich tlacatl in telpopochtequjoaque iuhquin nececôquetzalo, iuhquin in ioiolipâ in jlhujtlazque, in ilhujtlamatizque, injc quintlatitizque, quintlamaviçoltiz̃q, quintlaixtlatizque, in Españoles:

tlatotoca, netlalolo, vmpa itztiova in teuitoalco, injc vmpa nococololoc. Auh in ococenquixoac: njmã ie ic peoalo, ie ic vmpeoa in cujco yoan nococololoc. Auh in mocenpoalçauhque, yoan yoan in mocexiuhçauhque nepan jxtinemj: in tetzaqua imoocoquauh, in aquin quiçaznequj ic quitlaieiecalhuja in ocoquavitl: auh in aquin mazixaz quitlalitiuh icuechi, yoan izztaxel. Auh in aquin çan njman atlatlacamati, in amo tetlaçaltoca in aquen tlatta, vel ic qujcujtlavitequj, qujmetztvitequj, caculhujtequj, calitícpa contopeoa, conchiccanoa, conjxiquetza, mjhixiquetztiuh, nanacuititiuh niac temacnaoti:

cenca iehoĩ tlamamauhtiaia, tlamauhtiaia, cemjmacaxtincatca in jachvan vitzilobuchtli in mocexiuhçauhque. Auh in tlaiacatia in vevei tachcavan, in vevei chiva tel huel qujçaia, amo quintzacujlinia: auh in ie ixqujch telputzintli, in cuexpaltzine in cuexpaltzitzineque, yoan in tzotzocolteque, in tepallamanj, in yiaque: in motenena in telpuchiaque, in oc ic nemj, in oc cacitinemj, in anoço vme cacitinemj no quintzaquaia: qujmjhuiaia, vmpa xiviã on nocne, anquitititia, amo techito.

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16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

In both the above instances (or kinds of instances) actions of particular merit facilitated, at least, the acquisition of the title; but it could, also, be obtained:—

3. By the observance of rigorous and even cruel rites of "medicine" for a stated time, which put the courage, fortitude, and self-control of the candidate to the severest tests.[178] Although a detailed account of these rites might perhaps be withheld for a subsequent sketch of ancient Mexican worship, yet they equally deserve a place here.

The candidate appears to have been presented at the great central place of worship by the representatives of his kin, perhaps, also, by the other chiefs of his tribe. There he underwent four days and four nights of the most cruel torments. While but little nourishment was allowed him (some went even so far as not to eat anything at all during this time), his blood was drawn freely, and no sleep was permitted to settle on his weary eyes. From time to time he was exposed to taunts, to injurious words, to blows and even to stripes. While he was thus hungry and thirsty, weakened from loss of blood through self-sacrifice, others ate and drank plentifully before his eyes. Finally, his clothes were torn from his body, and with nothing on but the breech-cloth or diaper, he was at last left alone at the "calmecac," there to do the rest of his penance. When these four initiatory days were past, the candidate went back to his calpulli, to spend the remainder of the time (about a full year), in retirement, and abstinence, frequently attended with more or less self-inflicted bodily suffering. When the kin had secured the necessary amount of articles to be offered up in worship, or given to the medicine-men, officers, chiefs, and guests attending the installation, this final solemnity was allowed to take place, provided always that the courage and personal strength of the novice had not forsaken him. Another period of fasting, sacrifice, and torture, similar to the one at the opening of the career of preparation, closed the probation. Some of the ordeals were again of the most trying nature. Finally the store of gifts was distributed; eating and drinking alternated with

era ya como caballeros, y tenian divisas particulares por esa hazañas." . . . *Fray Alonso de Montufar* ("Suplique," etc., 20 Nov., 1554. "*Troisième relation d'Ixtlilxochitl*," Appendix, p. 267). [178] "*Des Cérémonies observées autrefois par les Indiens lorsqu'ils faisaient un Vieux*," (1st "Recueil," p. 222). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXVIII, p. 156). *Sonora* ("Conquista," Vedia I, p. 478). "*Des Cérémonies observées*," etc. (pp. 222, etc.). *Mendieta* (p. 156). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXIX and XXX, etc.).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

555 solemn dances to the monotonous rythmic noise called Indian music.
● 785 The candidate was, at last, once more dressed in becoming apparel,
618 and could recuperate, being himself now the "feasted one."[171]

618 Men, however young in years, who had successfully endured such
554 great trials, certainly deserved to be looked upon thereafter as persons of uncommon fortitude. Hence indeed the chiefs or "tecuhtli" were particularly fitted for responsible offices of any kind. They were looked upon with deference, their voice was heard and listened to, and it is no wonder if higher charges, especially those of a military nature, were filled by such as had, in one way or another, achieved this distinction.[172] But no privilege was connected with their dignity, except that of wearing certain peculiar ornaments, and none was transmitted through them to their descendants.[173] That the "tecuhtli," besides, did

[171] For the above description of the formalities of creating a "Tecuhtli," I refer to the sources quoted in the preceding three notes. It is interesting to compare similar ceremonies used by the Indians of the Orinoco, *Gumilla* ("*Histoire*," etc., Vol. II, cap. XXXV). Of the Yncas, *Garcilasso de la Vega* (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV to XXVI). *Cristoval de Molina* ("*An account of the Fables and Rites of the Yncas*," translated by C. R. Markham, in Hackluyt Society's Volume of 1873). "*Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Yncas.*" *Herrera* (Dec. V, lib. III, cap. VII, p. 68, etc.). We are forcibly reminded of the words of the quaint old poet and soldier, *Alonso de Ercilla*.

"Los cargos de la Guerra, y preheminencia
No son por sangre medios proveidos,
Ni van por calidad, ni por herencia,
Ni por hacienda, i ser mejor nacidos;
Más la virtud del brazo, y la excelencia,
Esta hace á los hombres preferidos,
Esta ilustra, habilita, perficiona,
Y quilata el valor de la persona."

("*La Araucana*." Parte Ia, Canto Iº. Edition of 1735, p. 2).

[172] *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIX, p. 161: "Los que tenian el dictado de Tecuhtli, tenian muchas preeminencias, y entre ellas era que en los concilios y ayuntamientos ans vnos eran principales." *Gomara* ("*Conquista*" Vedia I, p. 426). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXX, p. 366). It should always be remembered, that the dignity of Tecuhtli appears most prominent in Tlaxcallan. This people however, was but a league, very similar to that of the northern Iroquois, only consisting of four, instead of six tribes. Among them, the peculiar nature of the dignity of chief became more evident than it was among the Mexicans to the Spaniards. But there is no difference between the "Tecuhtli" of Tlaxcallan, and the "Tecuhtli" of Mexico or Tezcuco. That the head-chiefs of Mexico were always "Tecuhtli" themselves, previous to their election, needs hardly any proof. *Domingo Munoz Camargo* ("*Histoire de la République de Tlaxcallan.*" Translation by Mr. Ternaux-Compans, in Vol. 20 and 30 of "*Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*," 1843. See Vol. 20, p. 176, etc.)

[173] About the privileges of the Tecuhtli, compare *Gomara* ("*Conquista*" Vedia I, p. 426), *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIX, p. 161), *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXX, p. 366), *Zurita* (p. 48, etc.). It is evident however, that the latter confounds the rank of chief with the particular office which might have been entrusted to him, else the "cultivation of lands" could not be included in the list of advantages derived from the position. Compare "*Tenure of Lands*," *Bustamante* ("Tezcoco," etc., p. 225). Sr. Bustamante frequently copies *Zurita*. *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 128). In regard to the non-heredity of the dignity, I refer to the above authorities, and more especially to *A. de Zurita* ("*Rapport*," p. 49: "Lorsqu'un de ces chefs mourait, le prince accordait

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drew blood. It was said: "Thus was the sun nourished."

And Seven Flower was said [to be] good and bad. As a good [sign], in certain places the scribes paid it honor and were devoted to it. They set up its image and made offerings to it. Also those women who were embroiderers and cotton thread workers first fasted for eighty days; some fasted for forty or twenty days, when penance was done. Thus they requested of it that what they undertook might be well done; [that] their embroidery or design might be a work of art well fabricated and well painted. All therefore offered incense and stew quail; and all bathed and sprinkled themselves with water, when [the fasting] had been lifted. Then the feast of the day sign, Seven Flower, was celebrated.

And they said when it was not a good [day sign], that if some embroiderer broke her fasting — it was said — then she merited for herself infamy and an ill name. Thus she could only live in vice and become a harlot. For it was said the embroiderers lived in great vice and became terrible whores.

It was said the one who was their goddess, named Xochiquetzal, made sport of and mocked her. And she gave and thus scourged her with piles and infections.

But she who did well her penances, who took heed, and so then attained success, was esteemed, and gained honor for herself. In [all] places she was looked to; by the grace of the people, she lived well on earth.

Also it was said of this [day sign] that he who was born on it would perform all crafts well: he would be a good craftsman; he would plan well great works; he would constantly be prudent, if he took good heed. But if he did not take good heed, nothing resulted; he deserved nothing. He only merited the infamy with which he was defamed and the mockery with which he was mocked.

And Nine Wind was said to be wholly and entirely evil. As to him who was then born, nothing could be made of his life; so nothing would be retained; he could hold nothing; nothing would be kept; nothing would appear; he could do nothing; he was incapable on earth. He was as one driven by the winds, wondering here and there. He might wish to be something, to be someone: he became only nothing. For truly so was his day sign. He might wish for public esteem — to become a mer-

Auh in chicome xochitl: mjtoaia qualli, ioã ãqualli: ynic qualli ceccan vncã tlamaviztiliaia, motemachiaia, in tlacujloque, qujtlaliaia yxiptla, qujtlamanjliaia: no iehoan in cioa tlãmachchiuhque, icpachiuhque, achtopa qujneçaviliaia, nappoaltica, ace vmpoaltica, cempoaltica in moçaoaia: ic qujtlaitlanjliaia, injc itla vel aizque mjmatizque, toltecatizque, vellalalizque, vellacujloque: in jpan intlamach, intlacuilol: ic mochintin tlenamacaia, tlacotonaia: auh mochintin mãaltiaia, maujujxoaia, yn jquac neoalco, in vncan ilhujqujxtililoia, chicome xochitl:

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auh injc amo qualli, mitoaia, iquac intla aca tlãmachchiuhquj, ynecaoaliz qujtlacoaia, mjtoa: vncã qujmomacevia avilquizcaiotl, aviltocaitl: injc çã ãvilnemjz, ãvienjtiz, ca mjtoa, tlaquauh avilnemja, mãaviltiaia in tlamachchiuhque,

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qujlmach iehoatl inca mocaiaoaia, qujquequeloaia in inteouh catca, itoca xochiquetzal, ioan qujtemacaia, ic temotlaia, xochiciujztli, palanjliztli:

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auh in aqujn vel ontlamaceoa in vel monotza, ca oncã qujçaia, maviztia, momaviçotiaia, cana motztica, vel moietztica tepaltzinco in tẽc:

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no iuhquj ipan mitoaia in aqujn ipan tlacati, moch vel qujchioaz in toltecaiotl, vel tòtoltecatiz, tlatlanemjliz, iõiolizmatquj iez, intla uel monotzaz: auh intlacamo vel monotza, atle onqujçaia, atle icnopil, çan iaujlqujzca, iquequeloloca in qujmomacevilia.

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Auh in chicunavi hecatl: mjtoaia, motqujtica, moch centlantica amo qualli: in aqujn ipan tlacati, atle vel muchioa yn jnemjliz, atle vel ic tlaçaloia, atle vel ic tlaana, atle vel ic tlatzicoa, atle ivelnezca, atle veli, atle veliti in tlaticpac, çan iuhqujn ecatococoinemj, avic iatinemj, conmonectia in ma itlati, in ma acati, çan atleti: ca nel iuhquj itonal, conjxtoca, ipan onmjxpor, in ma pupuchtecati, in manoce cujcujcanjti, texachti, tetlãtlavicalti, tecãcamanalhuj. Etc. atle veliti, çan tlaqualania, çan nẽia motlatlamotia, mone-

For, so was it said, he had fallen into great sin.[6] There rags and tatters lay strung out; there misery and orphanhood were the reward. And there was the great flood, the great crag, the pit, where there was a falling into the flood, or from the crag, or into the pit.[6] And there lay the snare, where one was snared.

So was it said of him to whom it so befell that his fate and merits had been good; only of his own will and by his own act he had harmed, destroyed, and ruined it, etc.

And if a woman were born upon the day One Flower, it was said that she would be an able embroiderer. But nevertheless, in order to gain her deserts, and to achieve skill in embroidering, she should do great penances, and fast, and draw blood when the day sign One Flower set in. But if she did not do penances, if she took not good heed, if her upbringing and training were not good, she herself harmed her day sign.

Likewise it befell her (as was told here) that her labors were in vain; she merited complete poverty and misery. Thus her deserts only came to an end, to naught; they became corruption. She became a harlot, a courtesan. She sold herself; she became a paramour. For it was said that just so was her day sign, One Flower; for it fell two ways. They said it was good and evil.

Also it was said that when One Flower set in, then began, continued, and was always held, a dance, a procession. But only Moctezuma in his own heart knew — [for] no one [else] determined — for how many days he established his dance. Perchance for forty days there would be dancing.

And that it might be known that a dance had been arranged, two poles with flowers were set up; they remained at the palace of the ruler. Thus was made known the day of the flowers: there would be enjoyment of and rejoicing over the day of flowers.

At that time the ruler determined and requested the kinds of song to be intoned — perhaps after the manner of those of Cuextlan,[7] the drunkards of Cuextlan;[8] or of Huexotzinco or Anahuac; or the merchants; or those of Nonoalco, or Concatlan; or of

ca iuh mjtoa, tlaalavi, tlapetzcavi, âtlacacemellecan vncan vilantoc in tzotzomatli, in tatapatli, vncâ mâcenalo in jcnoiotl, in jcnotlacaiotl: auh vncan icac, in vei atoiatl, in vei tepexitl, in tlaxapuchtli, vncâ neatoiavilo, netepexivilo, netlaxapuchvilo: ioan vncan manj in tzonoaztli, vncan netzonoaztvilo:

ic mjtoa, in aquin iuhquj ipan muchioaia, y, qualli ocatca: in jtonal, in jmâceoal, ça inévüan, ça onmonevianvi, in oconmjtlacalhuj, in oconmopôpolhuj, yn oconmotlaçolmjctili. Etc.

Auh intla aca cioati, ipan tlacatia ce suchitl: mjtoaia, vuellamachchiuhquj iez: auh iece injc vel quicnopilhujz imâceoal, injc vel qujttaz tlâmachtli, cêcentlamaceoaia, moçaoaia, mjçoia in jquac moquetzaia ce suchitl tonalli: auh intlacamo tlamaceoa, intlacamo vel monotza, intlacamo vellaoapaoalli, vellaxcaltilli mochiou, çan no qujtlaueliaia yn jtonal:

no iuhquj ipan muchioaia (in iuh omjto njcan) atle onquçaia, çan moch icnoiotl, netoliniliztli in quimomaceviac auh injc ça ontlatzontia, ontlatzonquixtia, ça aujlquizcaiotl, in jnemac mochioa, aavienjti, maaujltia, monanamaca, motzitzinamaca: ic mjtoa, ca nel iuhquj itonal in ce suchitl, ca vme vitz quitoa, qualli, ioã âqualli.

No ioan mjtoa, in jquac moquetzaia ce suchitl: vncan oncempoua, vncan vmmocemana, in muchipa macoaalo, nctotilo, çan iee quimati in Motecuçumâ yiollotlâma aiac qujiocoia, in quezquilhujtl, quitlaliz ymaceoaliz in aço vmpoalilhujtl manjx mâceoalitzli:

auh injc necia, ynjc temaceoaliztlalhujloia, vme suchiquixvitl oalmoquetzaia, oalmomanaia tecpan, tlatocan: yc monextia in suchilhujtl, suchipacca, nexuchitlamachtilo:

vncâ tlatlâtlamj, tlanenequj in tlatoanj, in catle cujcatl conoaz, in anoço cuextecaiotl, tlaoancuextecaiotl, vetzotzincaiotl, anaoacaiotl, ottomecaiotl, nonoalcaiotl, coatetecaiotl, tenjcaiotl, tepetlacaiotl, chichimecaiotl, metztitlancalcaiotl, otoncujcatl, quata-

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5. *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, fol. 191r: *dixisse, dispensasse in dubio per.* See also fol. 210v.

6. Cf. also *loc. cit.* The passage is metaphorical.

7. Probably Huaxteca. (Jos, however, Sahagún (Carlbay ed.), X, 29, 78-82 (cf. Vol. I, p. 9, for orthography system, as he used hereafter except in special cases).

8. Cf. *ibid.*, IV, 7, 5.

796 mountains. Those who were there watching then
372 raised a cry which rose to the heavens with joy that the world was not ending and that they had another fifty-two years assured.

The last ceremony of new fire which they held was in the year 1507. They held it with full solemnity, because the Spaniards had not come to this land. In the year 1559 ended the next bundle of years, which they call Toximmolpilia. On this occasion they held no public ceremony, because the Spaniards and members of the religious Orders were now in this land. So that this year, 1576, is the fifteenth of the current bundle of years.

796 When they made the new fire and held this cere-
778 mony, they renewed their covenant with the devil to serve him, and they renovated all the statues of the devil which they had in his house, and all the ornaments for his service, and those of their houses. And they rejoiced greatly to know that now they held the world to be secure and that it would not come to an end for fifty-two years. It is clear that this device of counting years was an invention of the devil to make them renew the covenant which they made with him every fifty-two years — [the devil] terrifying them with [the threat of] the end of the world and making them think that he lengthened the time and favored them thereby, letting the world move on.

796 Besides this they held, every eight years, a fast on
●785 bread and water, for eight days; and at its conclusion they celebrated a feast in which they held a solemn dance by various personages, in which they said that they revealed what would come to pass or what fortune they merited; and they called it Atamalqualiztli.

796 They observed another feast every four years, in
304 honor of the fire [god], during which they pierced
805 the ears of all the boys and girls; and they called it Pillauanaliztli. And during this feast it is likely, and there are conjectures, that they held their leapyear, reckoning six [days] of Nemontemi.

805 The remaining time-count is of the year, which
796 they divided into eighteen months, to each of which they assigned twenty days. And each of these
443 months was dedicated to one god, or to two, and during it they held their feast. Each of these months they divided into five-day periods, and held the fairs on the last day of these five in one town, and five days later in another, and another five days later in

y los que estauan alli a la mira, leuantauan luego vn alarido que le ponjan en el cielo de alegria que el mundo no se acabaua y que tenjan otros cincuenta y dos años por ciertos.

La vltima solemnjdad, que hizieron deste fuego nueuo: fue el año de mill y quinjentos, y siete: hizieronle, con toda solemnjdad, porque no avian venjdo los españoles, a esta tierra: el año de mjll y quinjétos y cincuenta y nueue, se acabo la otra gabilla de años: que ellos llaman Toximmolpilia. En esta, no hizieron solemnjdad publica: porque ya los españoles, y religiosos estauan en esta tierra. De manera que este año de mjll y quinjentos y setenta y seis, anda en quinze años, de la gabilla de años que corre.

Quando sacauan fuego nueuo, y hazian esta solemnjdad, renouauan el pacto que tenjan con el demonjo de servjrle: y renouauan todas las estatuas del demonjo, que en su casa tenjan, y todas las alhajas de su serujcio, y las de sus casas: y hazian grandes alegrias, por saber, que ya tenjan el mundo seguro, que no se acabaria por cincuenta y dos años. Claramente consta, que este artificio de contar, fue invencion del diablo, para hazerlos renouar el pacto que con el tenjan de cincuenta, en cincuenta y dos años: y amedrêtandolos con la fin del mundo, y haziendolos entender, que el alargaua el tiempo y les hazian merced del passando el mundo adelâte.

Demas desta cuenta tenjan que de ocho en ocho años, hazian vn ayuno de pan y agua, por espacio de ocho dias, y hazian al cabo, vna fiesta donde hazian solemne areito de diuersos personajes; donde dezian, que descubrian ventura o que la merecian, y llamauanla Atamalcualiztli.

Otra fiesta hazian, de quatro en quatro años, a honrra del fuego, donde agujerauan las orejas a todos los njños, y njñas, y la llamauan pillauanaliztli. Y en esta fiesta es verisimjle, y ay conjecturas que haziá su biserto, contando seis de nemontemj.

la otra cuenta del tiempo, es de vn año: el qual repartian en deziocho meses, y a cada mes le dauan veinte dias: y cada vno destos meses, era dedicado a vno, o a dos dioses: y hazian en el sus fiestas, cada vno destos meses, le repartian de cinco in cinco dias, y hazian las ferias el vltimo dia, destos cinco, en vn pueblo: y dende a cinco dias en otro, y dende a otros cinco dias en otro. De manera que el quarto quja-